Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT

OF

TOURS IN THE GANGETIC PROVINCES

FROM

BADAON TO BIHAR,

IN

1875-76 AND 1877-78.

BY

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What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings, or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them. —LORD CANNING.

What the learned would demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally. —JAMES PRINSEP.

VARANASI

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume contains the results of a tour in the Gangetic Provinces in 1877-78. In this report I have described many curious and interesting remains of Hindu architecture and sculpture of all ages. Of the old Buddhistic times, there are the ancient mounds of Panch Pahâri, or the " Five hills," close to Patna, from whence Akbar viewed the city when he was besieging Dâud Shah, the last king of Bengal. Of the same age are the old temples and stûpas of Srâvasti and Tandwâ. Of the Indo-Scythian period, there is a very curious group of sculpture from Tusâran Bihâr, near Allahabad. Of the Gupta age, there are the two inscribed stone pillars at Bilsar, in the Doâb, recording the name of Kumâra Gupta, with the early date of Sambat 96 of the Gupta era. Of a later period, there are some very curious and interesting illustrations in the brick temples of Bhitargaon, Paraoli, and Râr, near Cawnpore, with their vaulted roofs and terra-cotta bas-reliefs.

The period of Muhammadan rule is well represented by the grand old masjid at Badaun, with its overlapping arched gateway, of the time of Iltimish, A. H. 620, or A. D. 1223; and also by the magnificent masjids at Jaunpur, built by the Sharki kings in the fifteenth century A. D. Of somewhat later date are the tombs of Sher Shâh and his family at Sahsarâm. The tomb of Sher Shâh himself, which possesses the largest dome in Northern India, is a very striking and picturesque building, placed, after the Hindu fashion, in the middle of a sheet of water.

During this tour I made two identifications of ancient sites, one of which is of very great historical interest, as it belongs to the early career of Buddha. This is the famous *Uruvilwa* forest, which gave its name to *Uruvilwa Kâsyapa*, the fire-worshipping opponent of Buddha. It was to this forest of *vilwa*, or bel, trees that Sâkya Sinha retired for contemplation; and it was there that he finally attained to Buddhahood. *Uruvilwa*, or, in Pâli, *uruwela*, means simply " many *vilwa* trees," or the "bel forest." The place is now represented by the small hamlet of *Urel*, which is only a simple contraction of the Pâli name of *Urawel*. The whole neighbourhood still abounds with *bel* trees.

The other identification is that of *Newal*, near Bângarmau, as the *Nava-deva-kula* of Hwen Thsang, who describes it as situated 20 miles from Kanauj, on the north bank of the Ganges. I thought that Bângarmau might be the place; but I found that it was only an outlying portion of the ancient town of *Newal*, with its numerous ruins of old brick temples. The present name, it will be observed, still preserves a portion of each of the three distinct words of the ancient name. At the time of the Muhammadan conquest Newal had a raja of its own.

A. CUNNINGHAM

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CONTENTS.

PLATES

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF A TOUR IN THE GANGETIC PROVINCES, 1875-76 & 1877-78.

I.—BADAON.

WHEN the Muhammadans under Kutb-uddin Aibek first took possession of the district of Katehar to the north-east of the Ganges, they made Badaon their head-quarters, while Ahichhatra, near Aonla, remained the Hindu capital of the Katehria Râjputs. The first governor of Badaon was the famous Shams-uddin Iltitmish, who afterwards became king of Delhi. But his interest in Badaon still continued after his accession to the throne, as we learn from the inscription on the gateway of the Jâmi Masjid recording his name with the date of A.H. 620, which was the twelfth year of his reign. Five years afterwards he made his eldest son, Rukn-uddin Firoz, governor of Badaon, and here also he confined his antagonist, Tâj-uddin Yelduz, who shortly afterwards was put to death in prison.

Of the earlier history of Badaon very little is known, according to the Brahmans, its first name was either Bedamau or Bedamâya. It was included in the dominions of Mahipâl, the Tomar Râja of Delhi, who is said to have built the great fort on which part of the city now stands. Several of the towers still remain, and in many places the thick brick walls are still visible. The old site is about three-quarters of a mile in length; and its general outline is well marked by the great mound on which the western half of the city now stands. Mahipâl is also said to have built a temple named Harmandar, which was destroyed by the Muhammadans, and the present Jâmi Masjid built on its site. The people are unanimous in their belief that all the statues of the temple were buried under the floor of the Masjid, in front of the pulpit. Apparently the small river, Sot, once flowed immediately under the

western wall of the fort. Badaon held its position as the Muhammadan capital of Katehar for upwards of four centuries. During this long period we read of the stern justice which Balban meted out to Malik Faiz Shirwâni, the governor of Badaon, who in a drunken fit had killed one of his servants. When Balban visited Badaon, the widow laid her complaint before him, and the unfortunate governor was beaten to death in presence of the whole court, and his body hung over the gate of the town.[1] Between A.H. 715 and 726 (A.D. 1315—1326) Mahâbat Khan made himself independent in Badaon, and successfully opposed the Sayid King Khizr, who retired under the plea of a conspiracy after besieging the town for six months. In A.H. 839 = A.D. 1435, Malik Juman, the governor of Badaon, rebelled against the Sayid King Muhammad, and was only brought to submission by the grant of a jâgir. Fifteen years later the puppet king Alâuddin Alam Shah abdicated the throne in favour of the Afghan Chief Bahlol Lodi, and retired to Badaon, where he lived in unmolested obscurity for 28 years. At his death in A. H. 883, the king of Jaunpur, Husen Shah Sharki, seized the district of Badaon and held it until he was expelled by Bahlol Lodi.

It was from this town that the famous Mulla Abdul Kâdir received his well-known title of Badaoni. Here he lived for many years, and here he died in A. H. 1004, and was buried at the neighbouring village of Atapur, "close to the mango garden."[2] During his residence at Badaon he witnessed in A.H. 979 = A.D. 1571 the total destruction of the town by fire.

At a later date Badaon was the residence of the infamous Shekh Khubu, better known as Kutb-uddin Chishti. He was the foster-brother of Jahângir, on whose accession to the throne Kutb-uddin was appointed governor of the province of Bihâr.

"At that time, Sher Afkan 'Ali Kuli' was Tuyuldâr of Bardwân, and as his wife Mhirunnisâ [Nur Jahân] was coveted by the emperor, Kutb was ordered to send Sher Afkan to court, who however refused to go. Kutb therefore went to Bardwân, sending Ghiâs, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afkan that no harm would be done to him. When Kutb arrived, Sher Afkan went to meet him accompanied by two men. On his approach, Kutb lifted up his horsewhip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Afkan. 'What

[1] Briggs' Ferishta, vol. I, 253.
[2] Blochmann in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1869, p 117

is all this?' exclaimed Sher. Kutb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Kutb's signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Kutb, and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Kutb was a stout man, and seizing his protruding bowels with his hands called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel. Ambah Khan, a Kashmiri noble of royal blood, thereupon charged Sher Afkan, and gave him a sword-cut over the head; but he fell at the same time, pierced through by Sher's sword. The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Kutb-uddin was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiâs to bring his effects and his family to Bardwân. He then was removed in a pâlkee. He died without being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fatehpur Sikri and buried."[1]

Blochmann adds that in A.D. 1013 Kutb-uddin *built* the Jâmi Masjid at Badaon, and that his son, Shekh Ibrahim, was in 1015 a commander of 1,000 horse, with the title of Kishwar Khân. But the mosque was only *repaired* by Kutb-uddin, whose inscription still exists on the right-hand side of the great arch. This inscription, which mentions the name of both father and son, will be given presently.

Abul Fazl speaks of Badaon as "an ancient" city in which were the tombs of many saints.[2] But these must have fallen into ruin long ago, as the only saintly shrine that I could hear of was the ziârat of Badr-uddin Shah Wilâyat, near the Shamsi Idgâh. There are, however, several tombs without inscriptions which are still in fair preservation; but the people know absolutely nothing about them. Of the eight large tombs now standing around the city, all, with the single exception of that of Chimni Khân, are known simply as "*chauki*," which is understood to mean a "four-sided building." Besides these eight tombs, the only buildings of any importance are the Shamsi Idgâh and the Jâmi Masjid. As both of these were erected by Shams-uddin Iltitmish, they are amongst the earliest specimens of Muhammadan architecture in India.

In the following list of the ancient buildings at Badaon, I have attached letters of the alphabet to the eight tombs, as some of their names are unknown, and there is some doubt about the attribution of one or two others. The Idgâh and Jâmi Masjid of Iltitmish an designated by their present titles, as there is no doubt about their attribution.

[1] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 496.
[2] Gladwin's Ayin Akbari, II, 87.

	Dates.		
	A. H.	A. D.	
Idgâh Shamsi	...	...	Shams-uddin Iltitmi*sh*.
Jâmi Masjid	620	1223	Ditto.
On south-west side, A Tomb	...	...	
„ „ B „	957	1550	
On west side, C Tomb	877 882	1472 1477	
„ D „	882	1477	
On east side, E „	860	1456	
On south side, F „	883	1478	
„ H „	...	...	

I have placed the Shamsi *Idgâh* at the head of the list, as I believe it to have been built by Iltitmish during his governorship of Badaon, between the years 599 and 606 A.H., or A.D. 1202—1209, whilst the Jâmi Masjid was certainly built by him in A.H. 620 = A.D. 1223, twelve years after he had ascended the throne of Delhi. The Idgâh is a massive brick wall, 302 feet in length, with lines of ornament near the top, which most probably were originally covered with blue glaze. There is a long inscription over the centre of the Mihrâb; but it has been carefully plastered over, and only a few letters are now visible. To the right of the pulpit there is a part of an inscription in one long line; but from what I could make out, it would appear to be only an extract from the Korân. Close by is the shrine of Badr-uddin Hazrat Shah Wilâyat, which is so thickly white-washed that none of its details are visible. It possesses, however, an inscription of 17 lines of the time of Akbar, 43 inches long by 10 inches broad. I made only one copy of it which I sent to my friend, the late Mr Blochmann.

The Jâmi Masjid of Badaon is one of the largest Muhammadan buildings in India, its outside dimensions being 276 feet in length by 216 feet in width. The interior court is 180 feet long by 94 feet broad. The lower part of the walls to a height of 12 feet is built entirely of sandstone blocks, the plunder of the *Harmandar* temple of Mahipâl, and probably of several other Hindu buildings. Four of the stone pillars are now lying in the courtyard just inside the gateway. These are single shafts, 1 foot 6½ inches in diameter, and 9 feet in length. They have 16 fluted sides, with richly-carved capitals and bases. The superstructure of the old masjid is built entirely of brick, but the central dome, which

is a late restoration of Akbar's time, contains many blocks of *kankar*. The outer face of the entrance gateway is built wholly of sandstone, with overlapping arches, after the fashion of those in the great masjids at Delhi and Ajmer.[1] Over the outer opening there is an inscription in two lines which gives the date of the building in A.H. 620, during the reign of Shams-uddin Iltitmish.[2] As the only published copy of this inscription is erroneous, I give here a correct copy of the text with a *fac-simile* of the date in the accompanying plate:—[3]

1st Line.

ادخلوها بسلم آمنين السلطان المعظم شهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم
شمس الدنيا والدين غياث السلام ،

2nd Line.

والمسلمين اعدل الملوک والسلاطين ابوالمظفر ايلتمش السلطاني ناصر
اميرالمومنين خلدالله ملکه في شهور سنه عشرين وستمايته ،

In the published text, which must have been taken from a hand copy, the titles of *ul Mudzam Shâh-in-shâh* are altogether omitted, while the words *Ramzân-mubârak* are gratuitously inserted, as well as the word *Samân*, or "eight," which makes the date 628 instead of 620. The name of the khalif, *Nâser*, who died in A.H. 622, should have been sufficient to point out the error in the reading of the date.

The main body of the masjid is formed of four rows of massive brick piers from 6 to 8 feet square standing in front of the back wall. On each of the other three sides of the court there are two rows of similar piers. The central portion of the masjid, as it now stands, consists of a large dome

[1] See Plate III.

[2] In Briggs' Ferishta, this king is called Altamsh, but on the minaret of the great masjid at Ajmer, his name is written quite clearly as *Iltitmish*. This also is the spelling of Abdul Kâdir Badaoni. In 1871 I was informed by Mr. Blochmann that the verses in which he is mentioned require a name of three syllables, with the second syllable long. The reading of the Ajmer masjid inscription fulfils this requirement exactly, and is further supported by the transliteration of the name in Nâgari letters on the unique coin published by Mr. Thomas. Here we have (I) *Iltimisi*, which might be intended for *Iltitmish* or *Ilitmish*, with the accent on the second syllable. But the majority of the coins are in favour of the Ajmer reading of the name, with two *t*'s, as I have given above.

[3] See Plate IV. The published copy gives the reading of Mr. Wilson, which Mr. Blochmann had no means of correcting. See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1872, p. 102.

43 feet in diameter, supported on massive walls, 17 feet thick, with a pointed arch in front, 18 feet in width, and a similar arch on each side, 17 feet 9 inches in width.[1] Outside the front arch there is another larger one of 32 feet span, over which rises the front wall of the masjid, nearly concealing the massive dome behind it. But this part of the building is of late date, having been made by Shekh Khubu, the foster-brother of Jahângir, in the year 1013 A.H., just one year before Akbar's death. His inscription is recorded in two lines on a long stone which is let into the wall on the right side of the inner arch of the entrance.

در عهد جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازي سنه ۱۰۱۳ هزار و سیزده
بنا کرد این مسجد قطب‌الدین خان حشمتي عرف شیخ خوبو کوکه ابوالمظفر
سلطان سلیم شاه غازي ابن جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر شاه باهتمام نواب شیخ ابراهیم
ولد خان مذکور کاتب میر عمارت عبدالملک قاضي '

"In the time of Jalal-uddin Muhammad Akbar, Badshah Ghazi, in the year 1013 (A.H.), one thousand and thirteen, this masjid was built by Kutb-uddin Khan Chishti, *alias* Shekh Khubu Koka (foster brother) of Abul Muzafar Salim, Shah Ghazi, son of Jalal-uddin Muhammad Akbar Shah, under the superintendence of Nawab Shekh Ibrahim, son of the aforesaid Khan (Kutb-uddin or Khubu).
Written by the custodian of the building, Abd-ul Malik Kazi."

Looking at the style of the gateway, and of the two great masjids of Iltitmish at Delhi and Ajmer, I have no doubt that the original front arch of the Badaon masjid was constructed in a similar manner by overlapping stones. But this mode of construction, which was sufficiently strong for small openings, has failed wherever a large span was required, as in the central domes of the other two great masjids at Delhi and Ajmer. I conclude therefore that the great front arch of the Badaon masjid was probably formed by overlapping courses of stone, and that it had given way before the time of Akbar, at the end of whose reign a new dome was built by Shekh Khubu, as recorded in the inscription already noted. I think it probable that the original dome may have been partly supported on the four large Hindu pillars which are now lying in the courtyard. It is however quite possible that the dome itself was a regular vault of brickwork, as the whole

[1] See Plate II for a plan of the masjid

of the cloisters are roofed with intersecting vaults. They were constructed however in the usual faulty manner of India, without central key-stones, so that many of them had given way, and a great part of the cloisters was in a very ruinous state. As extensive repairs have been made within the last ten years, the faulty style of the vaulting now escapes notice, but it is very prominent in the early photographs of the masjid. To the right and left there are two smaller entrances which lead direct from the smaller streets, on the north and south, into the court of the masjid. Over the middle of the northern doorway there is an inscription bearing the name of Muhammad Tughlak, and the date A.H. 726 = A.D. 1326. I infer that the original dome of Iltitmish must then have been still standing, or otherwise it would have been rebuilt by Muhammad, and would not therefore have required any repair in the time of Akbar. The inscription is in two lines, engraved on a stone slab 2½ feet long by 1¼ foot broad. The text has not yet been read satisfactorily, but the repair or restoration of the masjid is stated to have been made by one Husen, the son of Hasan, in the year 726 (or A.D. 1326), during the reign of "the shadow of the merciful God, the father of religious warriors, Muhammad, son of Tughlak Shah, the Sultan; may God preserve his shadow and his kingdom!"

Originally the whole surface of the inner walls of the masjid was covered with raised ornamentation in blue glazed tiles. The outlines of the geometrical and flowered patterns are still quite distinct, although the coloured glaze has generally disappeared, except where it has been preserved by the coating of plaster which was liberally spread over the whole of the building at the time of Shekh Khubu's repairs in the reign of Akbar. Where the plaster has recently fallen off, traces of the blue glaze are still visible. I have given three specimens of the style of ornamentation in the accompanying plate.[1] Judging from the later examples of brick buildings in the times of the Tughlaks, I believe that the blue glaze was restricted to the panels of ornament and lines of inscription, while all the borders or frame-work were left unplastered in the natural dark-red colour of well-burnt bricks. Or, as I have seen in later buildings, and notably in the gateways of Akbar's fort at Agra, the bricks may have been covered with a thin coating of plaster, which was then

[1] See Plate IV.

coloured a deep madder red with white lines of pointing to imitate regular brick-work.

One piece of blue glazed tile with raised letters is let into the inner walls of the masjid, and I possess a second smaller piece with only two letters. The glaze has lost nearly all of its colour, but still preserves its lustre. It looks very like a piece of old blue silk cloth that has faded in colour, but still preserves its shiny surface.

Externally the walls of the masjid are very plain, being relieved only by lines of simple brick mouldings. But the small towers at the four corners are richly ornamented with various patterns of geometric tracery. No remains of glaze are now visible, but I believe that all the bands of ornament were covered with blue glaze, while the plain bands or divisions were left in their original state of plain red.

Although the Jâmi Masjid of Badaon cannot be compared with the magnificent masjids of Delhi and Ajmer, yet its great size and the massiveness of its walls give a certain dignity to its ruined aisles which a smaller building would not possess. As well as I am able to judge, I think that the effect of a large building entirely covered with blue glazed ornamentation, or perhaps with only the ornaments and inscriptions in blue glaze and the intermediate bands or frames of the panels in plain red brick, would have been very rich. In the few buildings that I have seen where these colours are used, as in the great Rokn-i-âlam in Multan, the general effect is striking and not inharmonious.

Although the great masjid towers high over the houses of the city, yet the streets which surround it are so narrow that it is quite impossible to get a good view of it from any near point. The best points of view for the details of the building are from the roofs of some of the neighbouring houses but for picturesque effect by far the best view is from the open country to the north of the town. The central arch of the masjid itself is plain and heavy, but the old gateway, with its corbelled arch of overlapping stones, is a pleasing specimen of the massive style of the earliest Muhammadan architecture of India.

Of the older tombs now remaining at Badaon whose dates can be ascertained, all but one belong to the 9th century of the Hijra. It seems also very probable that they belong to different members of the family of the Sayid King Ala-uddin Alam, who abdicated the throne in favour of Bahlol Lodi in A.H. 854. There is nothing either striking or

peculiar in their appearance. All are simple square masses of almost plain brick-work, with some bands of blue glazed tile ornament. A few brief notes will therefore suffice to describe their petty differences of construction.

Tomb A to the south of the town is an octagonal building of 26½ feet each side, with a room inside 27½ feet square. The people call it the tomb of Chimni Khân; but they know nothing of his history, and I have been unable to discover anything about him. The building appears to me to be of later date than the others, and is very probably not older than the time of Sikandar Lodi, or perhaps later. It is in better order than most of the others, and is more highly decorated. The battlement, especially, is a good specimen of rich ornamentation in brick-work. The dome is unfortunately very low, otherwise this tomb would be a very fine and striking specimen of a Muhammadan brick tomb.

Tomb B stands close to the last, but it is square in form, with a side of 32 feet 4 inches. It is ornamented with a single band of dark-blue glazed tiles, and has a rather flat dome. No name is known for it, but it is simply called *chauki*, or the "square" building. But as the inscription over the door bears the date of A.H. 957, the tomb must belong to the reign of Islam Shah Sûr. I sent my copy of the inscription to Mr. Blochmann shortly before his death. The room inside is square, with the usual overlapping pendentives in the corners.

Tomb C lies to the west of the town; it is 25 feet 6 inches square outside, with a square room inside. Over the door there are two inscriptions, bearing the dates of 877 and 882, carved on two different-coloured sandstones; that on the left hand being white and the other red. Each inscription consists of two lines, and as both run the full length of the two slabs horizontally, the two halves of both are on different-coloured stones. As both of these inscriptions were sent to Mr. Blochmann, I am not able to quote their texts, but as the later date of A.H. 882 is that of the death of the abdicated king Ala-uddin, I have little doubt that this is his tomb. Ferishta apparently gives 883 as the year of his death: but as he specially notes that his abdication took place in 854, and afterwards says that "his retirement at Badaon was *nearly* 28 years," it is clear that the old king must have died in 882.[1] This also is the date given by Khair-uddin Muhammad.[2]

[1] Compare Briggs' Ferishta, I. 557, and I. 543.
[2] History of Jaunpur, translated by Pogson, p. 51.

D is one of the largest tombs now standing at Badaon, being a square of 42 feet 9 inches outside, with a room 28 feet square inside. Over the door there is an undated inscription of one line, which gives the name of Daolat Khân, of whom I have not been able to find any mention. He cannot be the Daolat Khân who sat on the throne of Delhi in A.H. 816, 817, as that Chief was imprisoned by Sayid Khizr in Hisar Feroza, where he was soon after put to death. The dome is much loftier than that of Chimni Khân's tomb, but it is dwarfed by the great square mass of building below. Had the corners been cut off, this would have been one of the most striking tombs in Badaon.

Tomb E stands on the east side of the town. It is a square of 40 feet outside, with a room of 19 feet 8 inches square inside. It is ornamented with some blue glazed tiles in squares bearing the name of Allah. Over the eastern door there is a long slab bearing an inscription in memory of the mother of Shahzâdâ Fateh Khân, dated A.H. 860. I presume that this lady was one of the wives of Sayid Ala-uddin, the abdicated monarch.

Tomb F stands close to E on the east side of the town. It is a square of 43 feet externally, with walls 7 feet 9 inches in thickness, and an inner room 27 feet 6 inches square. Over the door there is the *kalimah* inscribed in brick, but the great stone inscription slab is gone. The tomb is now occupied by Kumhars, who have their kilns inside.

Tomb G stands on the south side of the town. It is 367 feet square outside, with a room 23 feet 4 inches square inside. The corners are cut off in the usual way by overlapping pendentives to form an octagon for the spring of the dome. In the middle there are two brick graves, one of which is that of a man, as there is the usual pen case on the top. In the south-east corner there is the third grave. There is an inscription over the doorway with the date of 866 A. H., which records the burial of Makhdûmah Jahân, the mother of the abdicated king Ala-uddin Alam. The text and translation of this inscription have been published by the late lamented Mr. Blochmann as follows:

بناي اين گنبذ متين مخدومه جهان مرحومه مغفوره والده حضرت
سليماني علاءالدنيا والدين عالمشاه سلطان درعهد سلطنت سلطان مذكور
مؤرخا التاسع عشرين رجب رجب قدره سنه ست و ستين ثما و ثمانية ٠

"This strong vault of Makhdumah Jahân, the late mother of His Majesty *Ala-uddunya wa-uddin Alam Shah*, the king, was erected during the reign of the said king. Dated 19th Rajab [may its honour be increased] 866 A.H. = 19th April 1462 A.D."

A notice of this tomb has been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society,[1] together with a faulty copy of the inscription in which the date is read as A.H. 877. This was afterwards corrected by Mr. Blochmann on receipt of an impression which I forwarded to him some years ago.[2] There can be no doubt about the identification of the building, as the three graves which I have described above are also mentioned by Mr. Wilson, who describes them as those of Alâ-uddin and his mother. The building is further identified by his mention of an old masonry well "close to the tomb." This well, which is only 120 feet to the south-west, is a very fine one, being 21 feet in diameter.

Tomb H lies 42 feet to the south of G. It is exactly of the same style, but of only half the size, being 19½ feet square outside, and 12 feet square inside. It was probably the tomb of one of the sons of Alâ-uddin.

Besides the tombs just described, there are several of later date which do not seem to require any particular mention. Amongst these is the tomb of Ikhlâs Khân of the Mughal period, a small neat-looking building with stout octagonal towers at the four corners. The tomb of Shekh Afrid is also a very small one, and is only remarkable for its curiously shaped minars. Lastly, there is a masjid of the time of Aurangzeb, with an inscription dated in A.H. 1071, or A.D. 1660.

II.—KAMPIL, OR KAMPILYA.

According to the Mahâbhârata the great kingdom of Panchâla extended from the Himâlaya mountains to the Chambal river. But just before the Great War, Drupada, the king of Panchâla, was conquered by Drona, the preceptor of the five Pândus. Drona restored to Drupada the southern half of the country, with its capital of Kâmpilya, but the northern half he retained for himself, and made Ahikshetra (or Ahichhatra) his capital. This capital of north Panchâla I have already described;[3] but the southern capital of

[1] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1872, pp. 111, 112, and Proceedings for March of the same year, p. 49.
[2] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal and Proceedings for 1874, p. 100.
[3] Archæological Survey of India, I, 278.

Kâmpilya was not visited until March 1878. I had long wished to see this old city, which is famous as the scene of the *Swayamvara* of Drupadi, the beautiful daughter of Râja Drupada. I did not of course expect to find any ancient buildings of the time of the Mahâbhârata, but I thought that the people would be able to point out the place where the great Swayamvara was believed to have been held. Whatever ancient buildings may have existed at Kampil when the Muhammadans first took possession of the Gangetic doab must have been swept away long ago by that mad despot Muhammad Tughlak, who in A.H. 745 = A.D. 1345, "encamped his army near Kampil and Patiali, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from Oudh and Kara. The people of his camp here built houses, till at length a town arose under the name of Sargdwâri" (Swarga-dwâri). "Here he remained till the next year."[1]

I found no traces of old buildings, but only a succession of undulating grounds, rising in some places to high mounds with broken bricks thinly scattered here and there. The only sites that have got names are on the banks of the *Bûr Gangâ*, or old Ganges. There are several holy ghâts in the *kunds*, or ponds, in which pilgrims bathe, but there is no running stream. A great *mela*, or fair, is held here on the full moon of Chaitra.

The site of Râja Drupada's place is pointed out as the most easterly one of the isolated mounds on the banks of the Bûr Ganga. It is about 400 feet long and from 200 to 250 feet broad, rising to 20 and 25 feet in height.

Squared kankar blocks are seen everywhere; and apparently the walls of the ancient temples must have been built of these stones. Mouldings, and even figures, are found on some of them. Amongst the latter I saw a figure of the Ganges, on her crocodile, holding up a jar of water in her right hand. It is a lower piece of a door jamb, and is therefore of comparatively late date, say from 600 to 900 A.D. I saw also a second river-goddess in reddish-yellow stone of large size, which must have belonged to some grand temple. Amongst the figures I found the Brahmanical Ganesa and the Jaina Adinatha. There are several Jain temples, with some inscribed statues; but as the ministering priest would not allow them to be touched, and would not move them himself, the inscriptions could not be copied. They appeared to be

[1] Briggs' Ferishta, I, p. 428

not more than 300 or 400 years old, excepting one figure of black stone, which was behind the others, so that the characters could not be distinguished. It was said to be the oldest, and it certainly looked much older than the others.

This is another instance of the frequent churlishness of the Jain priests, which I have before noticed at Khandwa and Champanagar. Fortunately all are not so surly, and I can refer with pleasure to my intercourse with the chief priest at Pawapuri, and with the officiating priests at Mahasâra, or Masâr, in the Shahabad district, near Ara.

III.—BILSAR, OR BILSAND

It sometimes happens to a sportsman to miss a shot altogether, and at another time to kill two birds with one shot. Both of these chances have happened to me about Bilsar. In 1862 I made a careful search for the ancient site which the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, calls *Pi-lo-shan-na*, and failed to hit the mark; but in 1877 I was more successful, as I not only found the *Pi-lo-shan-na* of Hwen Thsang, but also the *Talsanda* of the Muhammadan historians, which is described as a strong fort "vying with the wall of Alexander." The place was brought to my notice by my friend Râja Siva Prasâd, who found there two inscribed pillars of Kumâra Gupta, dated in the year 96 of the Gupta era.

The name of the place is written *Bilsand* with the cerebral *d*, and is pronounced sometimes as Bilsaṛ, and sometimes as Bilsaṇḍ. It is now a small place; but its former size is well marked by the high mound on which the present village stands, and by a second large mound to the south. Its former consequence is proved by the fact that the town was the residence of a Rathor râja so late as three or four hundred years back. The râja's descendant now lives at the village of Rampur, one *kos* to the west of Bilsar, and a romantic story is told to account for the change of residence. A former râja is said to have built a fort on the top of the high mound in the middle of the village. As the mound is 33 feet high, the râja's *Baithak*, or "out-door throne," overlooked the house of a Brahman named Puran Mall, who was consequently annoyed, and appealed to the râja to change the position of the Baithak. The râja refused and the Brahman poisoned himself with opium, and his body then turned to a blue colour like indigo. His ghost then became a malignant spirit (*bîr*). and caused the death of several

members of the râja's family, and lastly of the râja himself. The ghost or spirit was named *Brahm-Râkshas*, or the "Brahman demon," and the râja's son, named Ram Sahai, fled away from him to Rampur, where he built a house, and where his family have ever since dwelt.

The ghost of Puran Mall is still worshipped by all the people of Bilsaṛ, who seek to appease the wrath of the Brahman Râkshas with offerings of flowers and sweetmeats. His *Chabutrâ*, or shrine, is the usual square platform on the highest point of the mound in the north-western corner. Numerous fragments of sculpture are collected on it. So strong is the belief of the people in the power of the Brahman's ghost, that they fully expected that something would happen to me for disturbing the mound by digging a trench across it. It sc turned out that my elephant, while taking her daily bath in a tank close by, broke away from her keeper and scoured the country for two hours before she was caught. This little incident was at once seized upon by the people as an exhibition of the power of the Brahm-Râkshas, who had thus revenged himself upon me for disturbing the mound near his shrine.

The present village, with all its mounds and fields strewn with broken bricks, covers a nearly square area of somewhat more than 2,000 feet each side, or rather less than half a mile. Its circuit is therefore about one mile and three-quarters, or a little less than the two miles mentioned by Hwen Thsang. The great mound, which is more than 33 feet high, stands in the very midst of the village, and divides it into two distinct portions, which are known as *Bilsaṛ Pachiya* and *Bilsaṛ Purva*, or western and eastern Bilsaṛ. To the south of the latter there is a third division of the village called *Bilsaṛ Patti*, which means simply the outlying quarter or division of Bilsaṛ. Regarding the origin of the name, I could get no information. There is however at 4 *kos* to the south-east another village called *Silsaṛa*, and written *Silsaṇda* in the maps, which seems to have been named after the same fashion.

The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang first visited *Pi-lo-shan-na* in A.D. 636, and again in A.D. 643 on his return journey to China.[1] On the latter occasion, he halted for two months to hear discourses on the Abhidharma Sâstra. On his first visit, the pilgrim travelled from Ahichhatra [or Râmnagar, 20 miles to the west of Bareli], from 260 to 270 *li*, or 43 to 45 miles, to the *south*, and then crossing the Ganges

[1] See my Ancient Geography of India, pp. 364, 367.

he turned to the south-west and reached *Pi-lo-shan-na*. This is a singularly exact account of the route from Ahichhatra to Bilsaṛ by the ancient city of Kampil. From Ahichhatra to the Ganges opposite Kampil the route is nearly due south, and the distance about 45 miles. From Kampil the road turns to the south-west to Bilsaṛ, a distance of only 6 miles. The agreement here is very precise, not only in name but in position, and I have no doubt whatever that *Bilsaṛ*, or *Bilsaṇḍa* is the place called *Pi-lo-shan-na* by Hwen Thsang. But there is a mistake in the account of his onward journey to Sankisa and Kanauj, which requires to be noticed for the purpose of correction.

From Piloshanna the pilgrim is said to have travelled 200 *li* to the south-east to *Kie-pi-tha* (or Sankisa), and from that place to Kanauj somewhat less than 200 *li* to the north-west.[1] Here Hwen Thsang makes the distance between Piloshanna and Kanauj close upon 400 *li*, or 67 miles. His bearing from Sankisa to Kanauj is of course wrong, as a north-west direction would have carried him back to Piloshanna. The bearing should of course be south-east, and it is so given by Fa Hian,[2] who further makes the distance only 7 *yojanas*, or 49 miles. Now, this is the true distance between Sankisa and Kanauj, which is exactly 50 miles. Hwen Thsang's distance of 200 *li*, or 33 miles, is therefore exactly 100 *li*, or nearly 17 miles, short. But if we accept the *whole distance* from Piloshanna to Kanauj as 400 *li*, and deduct from it 300 *li* between Sankisa and Kanauj, there will remain just 100 *li*, or 17 miles, for the distance between Piloshanna and Sankisa. I have marched this route three different times, and I estimate the distance as 18 miles by the road *viâ* Aliganj, and 17 miles direct. I think therefore that I am fully justified in proposing to divide Hwen Thsang's total distance of 400 *li* between Piloshanna and Kanauj into two unequal portions of 100 *li* to Sankisa, plus 300 *li* to Kanauj, instead of the two equal distances of 200 *li* each, which are recorded in his text.

The pilgrim describes the capital of Piloshanna as being 12 *li*, or just 2 miles, in circuit.[3] The people were chiefly heretics (Brahmanists), and there were few Buddhists. But they still had two monasteries with three hundred monks; while the heretics had five temples of the gods [*Devâlaya* or

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 241.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian Chap. XVIII.
[3] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 235.

Dewal].* Inside an ancient monastery, *in the midst of the town*, there was a stûpa 100 feet in height, which was said to have been built by Asoka, on a spot where Buddha had preached for seven days. Beside this monastery, there was a place where the four Buddhas had sat and walked.

From this account I make out that the ancient monastery must have occupied the great mound inthe middle of the village, marked A in the map of the place.[1] The inhabited monasteries must therefore have been outside the town, and they must have been of some size to have accommodated the 200 monks mentioned by the pilgrim. The possible sites seem to be the two large mounds marked B and C in the map. Of the great stûpa of Asoka I could not find any trace. I dug a trench right across the top of the great mound, and at a depth of 7½ feet, I came upon several walls 2 and 3 feet thick, but all of comparatively late date, and lying at different angles, from which I concluded that they were the remains of the houses of mediæval date, when the place was occupied as a fort. The bricks were large, 14¼ by 8½, 2¾, and I have no doubt that they belonged originally to Asoka's stûpa. I dug also some other trenches on the lower part of the mound to the east, near a fine octagonal well. I look upon all wells of this shape as certain evidences of Buddhism, as the wells in the Jetawana at Srâvasti are of this shape, and the Burmese Buddhists still use the octagonal form in preference to any other.

The other mounds at Bilsaṛ are most probably the sites of the five Brahmanical temples mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. Two of them, D and F, are certainly the remains of Brahmanical temples; and I judge the others to have been so on account of the remains of Brahmanical sculptures collected there. These five sites are the following: marked D, E, F, G, and H.

The mound marked D is called *Gandhoṛ-ka-rurhia*, but no one knew the meaning of the name. It is 20 feet in height, but its breadth is small; and my excavations brought to light the walls of a square temple. As in most of the other temples, the lines of wall do not correspond with the cardinal points, the E and W wall bearing 265° instead of 270°. As nothing was discovered, the excavation was discontinued. There is a fine octagonal well close by the north-east corner, 8 feet 3 inches in diameter. This may perhaps show that the temple belonged to the Buddhists.

[1] See Plate V.

Mound E is about 250 feet square at base and 10 feet in height. It is a mere mass of fragments of bricks and pottery; larger bricks having been carried off to build houses in the village.

The four pillars at the site marked F are by far the most interesting remains at Bilsar, Two of the pillars are round monoliths, bearing inscriptions of Kumâra Gupta, of which the northern one is dated in the year 96 of the Gupta era. These two pillars are 85 feet apart, the bearing between them being 11° to the east of north. Taking the line lying between them as a base, and setting off from its mid point, a perpendicular line of 85 feet towards the east fixes the position of the second pair of pillars, which are square. As all four of these pillars are thus clearly connected together, I take them to have formed a portion of some large temple of the Gupta kings. I made several excavations to the westward of the two square pillars, but without finding any traces of walls. On the east and north sides all excavation is barred by the houses of the village, which stand close to the two pillars. At a few feet distant on the south side there is a deeply-cut road, which shows that no walls exist in that direction. The rubbish of centuries which has accumulated around these four pillars to a depth of 8 or 10 feet has been the means of their preservation. The top portions of all four pillars have disappeared long ago, and nothing now remains save what was buried under ground. But the inscriptions of Kumâra Gupta luckily exist to show that the two square pillars must have formed part of the temple of the Gupta period. Their testimony is quite invaluable, as there are similarly ornamented square pillars at Garhwâ, near Allahabad, which we can now say positively must also have belonged to a Gupta temple. In my account of the Gupta temples at Sânchi, Udaygiri, Eran, Tigowa, and Deoriya, I have shown that one of the characteristics of the Gupta architecture is the presence of figures of the river-goddesses Ganges and Jumna on the door jambs. In accordance with this invariable practice of the Gupta builders, the figures of the Ganges and Jumna are also found upon the two square pillars of this Gupta temple at Bilsaṛ. There is only a slight trace of Ganga on the northern pillar, which is very much dilapidated, but the Yamunâ, or Jumna, is still in very fair preservation on the southern pillar.[1] The two Garhwâ pillars agree exactly with these Bilsar

[1] See Plate VI. Near the top of the pillar is the Jumna on her tortoise.

pillars in the style of deeply-cut flowered ornament on the sides, and in presenting a tall figure as a guard or porter on each side of the entrance. The Bilsar pillars are 2 feet 1 inch square and 9 feet high in their present broken state. But the tops of both are broken off, and as they are still upwards of 10 feet in height, it seems probable that they must have been between 13 and 14 feet high.

The two inscribed columns are plain circular monoliths from 19 to 20 inches in diameter. The tops of both are broken off, but they are still 10 feet high above the rough lower portions of their shafts, which were presumably sunk under ground. The inscriptions are engraved on their eastern faces, and as the figures of the Ganges and Jumna also face the east, it seems nearly certain that the entrance of the temple must have faced the east. In this case I should take the two square pillars to have been the supports of the Toran, or ornamental gateway, leading up to the temple from the east. It is somewhat in favour of this view that there is a flight of steps leading upwards from the Toran pillars towards the west. I could not ascertain whether this staircase was part of the original structure or not. If it was so, it has been repaired with old materials, as the lowermost step is formed of a pilaster 6 feet in length and 11 inches in breadth, which I think may have formed part of the original temple. There is a pillar of exactly the same size and pattern lying in the village close by. The details of these pillars are almost precisely the same as those of the Gupta temples and caves at Sanchi, Udaygiri, and Eran. I think therefore that this very strong evidence is sufficient to establish the correctness of my opinion that these pillars must have belonged to the Gupta temple. If this be admitted, we may go still further, and from these pilasters build a temple of the Gupta period similar to those which still exist at Sanchi, Udaygiri, Eran, and Tegowa. This would have been a simple square building, with a portico of four pillars in front near the top of the staircase. The roof would have been flat, and the ornamentation would have been limited to the doorway and the architraves.

The two round pillars are plain monoliths of dark-red sandstone. The northern pillar has 13 lines of an inscription and the southern pillar 16 lines. Both inscriptions are injured, more particularly the southern one. The letters have peculiar heads, or *mâtras*, somewhat in the shape of dice-boxes placed horizontally. Of the northern inscription the

left half of the first four lines is gone; but the greater portion may be supplied with certainty from the Bhitari pillar inscription. The upper part of the inscription on the southern pillar is also much injured; but by counting the letters, and comparing them with those of the Bhitari inscription, the accordance is seen to be nearly perfect. The seven lines in the middle of the southern inscription are completely gone; but the last five lines are in tolerable condition, and seem to correspond letter for letter with the last part of the northern pillar inscription. I read the whole as follows, marking the beginning of each line of the south pillar inscription with a figure in a bracket, and filling up the gaps in the first part from the Bhitari inscription. In the accompanying plate I have inserted the missing portions of each line in English letters for ready comparison.[1]

1.—[Sarvvarajochchhetuḥ prithivyamapratirathasya chaturudadhi] salila : (2) swâditaya ṣaso—

2.—[Dhana-da Varunendrântaka * masya kṛitânta paraṣoh ṣreya (3) satâneka] ranya koṭi pradasya chirotsannâswamedha harttuḥ.

3.—[Mahârâja Sri Gupta (4) puttrasya mahârâja Sri Ghaṭotkacha puttrasya] Mahârâjadhiraja Sri Chandra Gupta puttrasya.

4.—Lichchhavi dauhitrasya [mahâdevyâm kumâra Devyâ Mahârâja] dhiraja Sri Samudra Gupta puttrasya.

5.—Mahâdevyâm Datta Devyâ Mutpannasya [mahâ pratirathasya parama Bhâgavatasya mahârâjadhirâja-Sri Chandra Gupta puttrasya.

6.—Mahâdevyâm Dhruva Devyâ mutpannasya Mahârâja dhirâja Sri Kumâra Gupta syâbhivardhamana râjya Samvatsare Shannavate (96).

7.—Asya divasa purvvayâm Bhagavatastrailokya tejassaṁbharasata tatrâbhuta murtter Brahmaṇya Devasya.

8.—[Five letters] nivâsinaḥ Swâmi mahâsenasya yatanâ, sminkirttasugâchara saddharmma vartma bhayasinâ.

9.—Vatachehhe [five letters] su* ri* la* rmadâmânitena (12) Dhruva ṣarmmaṇa Karmma mahât kṛitad.

10.—Kṛitvâ Ṣivâbḥirâmâ munida manidhitiam Swargga Saupânarapâ (13) Kaḥverachchhanda bimba sphoṭika mani dalâbhâsa gaurâm pratoli.

[1] See Plate VIII.

11.—Prâsâdatabhirupa puṇya* radavna * (14* tha * ttay-epava-puṇyashchevabhiram vrajati Subhipatistata Ṣarmma Dhruvosta.

12.—Vyatir * sya (15) ** gasa yatavarapunyâtala padam. * * do bhakti-rahita satwa samata kastrunnasaṁ puyaye.

13.—* * * vinati saṣcha * chayojedika * * * va-tenâma Dhruva Ṣarmmaṇa * ira varama bhogayah kârita.

"The conqueror of all kings unsurpassed on the earth as a warrior, whose victorious arms reach to the four seas, equal to Dhanada, Varuna, Indra (and), Antaka, wielder of the battle-axe of death, giver of millions of gold, performer of the Aswamedha, the great king Sri Gupta's son, the great king Sri Ghatot Kacha's son, the great king of kings Chandra Gupta's son by the Lichchhavis' daughter, queen Kumári Devi, the great king of kings Samudra Gupta's son, by the queen Dattâ Devi, son of the unequalled warrior the supreme worshipper of Bhagavat, the great king of kings Chandra Gupta, by the queen Dhrûva Devi, the great king of kings Kumâra Gupta, during his prosperous reign in the year 96: On this aforesaid day,[1] * * * * in the house of Swâmi Mahâsena * * * * one Dhrûva Sarmman performed a great work * * * he erected a staircase (*saupana*), like that by which the *munis* ascended to heaven, with a gateway *(pratoli)* splendid as the crystal entrance to the palace of Kuvera; and a beautiful temple *(prâsâdatabhirûpa)*, &c."

I have ventured to give the few particulars noted at the end of this record on the authority of a Brahman Pandit at Simla. He assures me that *pratoli* means a "gateway," whereas, according to Wilson, it means only "a high street," or the "principal road through a town;" while Monier Williams gives it as the equivalent of "street." Perhaps there was a Toran gateway at the foot of the staircase leading to the temple, as it is quite certain that the two square pillars of a Toran gateway are now standing at the foot of a staircase leading to a point midway between the two inscribed pillars. If "street" be the more correct rendering, then the street will be the hollow road which now runs between the two inscribed pillars, from which a flight of steps or some other means of ascent to the temple would have been necessary.

[1] But no day is mentioned in the previous line, which gives the written date of "ninety-six."

This inscription of Kumâra Gupta will be published hereafter along with the other Gupta records in Vol. III of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.' But I have thought it necessary to give the above brief notice in anticipation, as the inscription seems to refer very distinctly to the temple of which only the pillars now remain. If I am right in my inference, then this temple must have been one of the five Brahmanical fanes seen by Hwen Thsang.

About fifty paces to the east of the Toran pillars, and on the side of the hollow road, there is a fine stone trough, which differs from all others that I have met with in being ornamented with slight mouldings running all round, and with flowers at the corners. At one end there is a two-armed figure seated on a throne, which I take to be Vishnu. The trough is 7 feet 7½ inches long by 3 feet 2½ inches broad, and 2 feet 10 inches high.

The only other remains at Bilsar are carved or moulded bricks, some of which are of very large dimensions. I found one fragment of a pierced lattice in carved terra-cotta. The holes were mere squares, but the border was a very intricate flower pattern. In the accompanying plate I have given sketches of three examples of the larger bricks which, though coarsely executed, are very striking and effective designs from their deep cutting.[1]

No. 1, which is placed sideways in the plate for convenience, seems to be the end-piece of coping of a Buddhist railing. It is 18 inches in length by 12 inches in height.

No. 2 may perhaps have formed part of a battlement. It is also 12 inches broad and 5 inches thick.

No. 3 has puzzled me a good deal; and I feel quite uncertain as to its use. The only purpose that I can suggest for it is the central piece of a large pavement. It was evidently made for some special position, as it is not square, although its circular pattern demands a square to satisfy the eye. It is 23 inches long by 21 inches broad.

The only mention of Bilsar that I can find during the Muhammadan rule is in the year 645 A.H., or A.D. 1247, when Balban, the Wazir of Nâsir-uddin Mahmûd made a campaign in the Doab between the Ganges and Jumna. Minhâj-us-Sirâj, a contemporary writer, celebrated this campaign in verse. In his Tabakât-i-Nâsiri he relates that—

"in the neighbourhood of Kanauj there is a fortified village called *Nandana*, where there is a very strong fort vying with the wall of

[1] See Plate VII.

Alexander. A body of infidel Hindus shut themselves in this place, resolved to fight to the last extremity. For two days the royal army carried on a murderous conflict at this village, but at length the rebels were sent to hell, and the place was subdued."[1]

Professor Dowson gives the variant readings of *Talanda* and *Talsanda*. In Ferishta the name is Bitunda, which Briggs identifies with Bulandshahr.[2] In the same passage Dow reads the name as *Tilsanda*. Comparing all these variant readings together, I think that there can be little, if any, doubt that the place intended is *Bīlsaṇḍa* or Bilsaṛ. The two names are absolutely the same, the position of each is in the neighbourhood of Kanauj, and Bilsar once possessed a strong fort, of which the remains still exist.

IV.—SANKISA.

During the past few years I have three times visited Sankisa. On the first occasion, in March 1876, I went there for the express purpose of searching for the remains of the great Asoka pillar, of which only the elephant capital now exists above ground. From the site in which this capital was found, I inferred that the pillars must have stood due north of the mound of Bisari Devi, which I have previously identified with the position of the three holy flights of steps by which Buddha descended from the *Trayastrinsa* heavens, attended by Brahma and Indra.[3] I *guessed* also from the angle formed by the diameter of the capital, taken along the back of the elephant, that the pillar must have fallen from a position nearly perpendicular to that line, as whichever way the elephant may have faced, the capital on reaching the ground would have turned round, so as to bring the elephant on its side. I gathered also from the actual size of the capital, as well as from the mention of its size given by Fa Hian, that the pillar must have been somewhere between 52 and 60 feet in total height. I therefore laid down a line at right angles to the long diameter and marked out a circular space between 50 and 60 feet distant from the elephant for my excavation. The result was singularly successful, as in less than an hour's digging we came on a square brick base, 11 feet 9 inches from north to south, and 10 feet

[1] Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians of India*, by Dowson, II, 347.
[2] Briggs' Ferishta, I, 237. Since this was written I have seen Major Raverty's translation of Minhāj, in which I find that one of the good manuscripts actually gives Bilsanda as the name of the place, thus most satisfactorily confirming my suggestion.
[3] See Archæological Survey of India, I, 278.

2 inches from east to west. There was a large circular hole in the centre, in which it was quite clear that the pillar had originally stood, as there was a great gap on the side towards the elephant capital, showing that the shaft had certainly fallen in that direction. I then found that this base was due north from the Bisâri Devi mound and exactly on the prolongation of its eastern wall. From this curious coincidence I conclude that the three holy flights of steps, which Hwen Thsang describes as being *in a line* from north to south and facing the east,[1] were almost certainly on the old mound now dedicated to Bisâri Devi. This mound is 20 feet high and 160 feet in diameter at base. It seems to be composed of solid brick-work, some of the bricks being of the large size of 24½ by 10½ by 3½ inches.

Encouraged by the successful discovery of the basement of the pillar, I opened a broad trench the whole way between it and the elephant capital, in the hope of finding some portion of the shaft, which was most probably inscribed with some of Asoka's edicts. In this I was disappointed; but I found large masses of wall, which had fallen down towards the east, still lying unbroken. I traced also a thick wall running from north to south at a short distance to the east of the pillar. I think it probable that this was part of the surrounding wall of the great monastery within which stood the three holy staircases.

All round the basement of the pillar I found traces of a brick floor, at a depth of 4 feet below the present level of the field in which it stands. As the depth of the elephant capital below the ground-level is only 2½ feet, a rough approximation to the date of its fall may be made by taking 4 feet as the accumulation of soil in 2,000 years. This would give 1,125 years for the period of accumulation round the elephant, which deducted from A.D. 1875, leaves A.D. 750 as the approximate date of the fall of the pillar. There is nothing improbable in this date, as it is more than a century later than the visit of Hwen Thsang when the pillar was still standing. Judging from the thickness of the enclosing wall of the monastery, I cannot help thinking that it must have been thrown down by an earthquake; and as it is lying in the the same direction as the prostrate pillar, I suspect that both may have fallen at the same time.

In my former account of Sankisa, I have quoted a tradition that the place was deserted between 1,800 and 1,900

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 237.

years ago, and that 1,300 years ago, or about A.D. 560, it was given by a *Kayasth* to a body of ***Brahmans***.[1] I have also quoted the statement mentioned by Hwen Thsang, in A.D. 636, that the Brahmans who dwelt near the monastery were "many tens of thousands" in number. With these two accounts I would now connect the facts that at the present day the Brahmans are very numerous at Sankisa, while a large proportion of the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Pakna Bihar are *Saksena* (or *Sankisena*) Kayasths, who claim to be the descendants of a body of immigrants from Sankisa. These Kayasths do not possess any lands in Bihar, but they are the owners of the largest houses. All these different facts seem to me to be so many separate parts of one continuous story. At some early period, perhaps before the time of Hwen Thsang, the Kayasths of Sankisa deserted their native place and settled at Pakna Bihar, their lands at Sankisa becoming at the same time the property of a party of Brahmans. At the present day the lands of Sankisa are largely owned by Brahmans, while the Saksena Kayasths of Pakna Bihar are landless. It therefore seems not improbable that the Brahmans of Bihar may have succeeded at last in ousting the Kayasths of Sankisa from their lands.

In the beginning of the 5th century, when Fa Hian was at Sankisa, he heard that once—

"some heretical doctors had a contention with the Shamans respecting this (Sankisa) as a place of residence. Then the Shamans agreed to any condition for settling the question that might be considered reasonable. On which they all bound themselves to this compact. If this place properly belongs to the Shamans, then there will be some supernatural proof given of it. Immediately on this the lion on the top of the pillar uttered a great roar. Witnessing this testimony, the unbelievers, abashed, withdrew from the dispute and submitted."[2]

The translation of this passage by Remusat, as given by Laidlay, is as follows:—

"There were heterodox philosophers who contested with the *Shamen* the right of sojourn here. The *Sha-men* submitted to a condition, and entered into a mutual convention. 'If,' said they, 'this place ought to be the abode of the *Sha-men*, let a supernatural testimony proclaim it.' They had no sooner finished this speech than the lion on the summit of the pillar uttered a loud roar. On witnessing this testimony, the heretics were overwhelmed with fear, and, submitting their hearts to *Fo*, received the divine sustenance."

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, I, 279.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian, C xvii, p. 65. See also Laidlay's, Fa Hian, p. 121.

These heretical doctors, or heterodox philosophers, were, as Remusat suggests, most probably Brahmans, so that even long before the time of Fa Hian there had been a dispute between the Brahmans and Sramans. Up to the time of Fa Hian, A.D. 400, the Buddhists had kept possession, but some time before Hwen Thsang's visit, in 636 A.D., the Brahmans must have prevailed over their opponents, as he records that there were no less than ten temples of the gods and numbers of heretics; while there were only four monasteries with about one thousand monks. My impression is that the quarrels with Brahmans must have begun at a very early date shortly after the downfall of the Indo-Scythian Buddhists in Northern India, and the rise of the powerful Brahmanical dynasty of Guptas, some time during the second or third century of the Christian era.

During my stay at Sankisa I made a large collection of ancient coins and other objects of interest. The earliest coins were of course the small square pieces with small symbols or figures punched upon them. I obtained no less than fourteen specimens of these early coins, of which three were of silver. Along with these were several cast copper coins. Next in age are the coins of the satraps of Mathura, Rajubul and his son Saudâsa, who preceded Kanishka and Huvishka in Northern India. Then come the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings themselves, Wema-Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu Deva, with a few of their successors whose names are not decipherable in their barbarous Greek legends. Then follows a long period of several hundred years quite unrepresented by coins until the 8th or 9th century, when the Indo-Sassanian pieces make their appearance, accompanied by some *Varâha-drammas*. These are small pieces of silver, with the Varâha incarnation of Vishnu on the obverse, and on the reverse a short legend, *Sirmâd-âdi-Varâha*.

In the neighbouring ruins of the Pakna Bihâr monastery not even a single coin of any kind has been discovered of an older date than the Indo-Scythians. But the coins of these princes are very numerous all round about Sankisa, and I infer that during their rule Buddhism revived and became prosperous.

Amongst the other objects of interest which I obtained at Sankisa, the following are the most worthy of notice: —

No. 1. A large seal of soapstone inscribed with the name of *Utara Senasa*, the owner of it. There is a peculiar trian-

gular symbol above, and the *swastika* below.[1] In the sketch the letters are reversed exactly as on the seal.

No. 2. A small sculptured scene in soapstone. Unfortunately the whole of the right edge has been broken off for rather more than an inch. In the accompanying sketch I have shown the full size of the original carving, which was exactly two inches and three-quarters in diameter. Rather more than a half of the composition is gone.[2] The remaining portion represents a lofty building approached by a long flight of steps, with a bend in the middle. The stairs have a Buddhist railing on each side and a small domed building at the head, which apparent ly leads into the upper storey of the building, which is supported on a row of pillars. Each storey has a Buddhist railing in front. There was a third storey above, but the sculpture is so much broken that the details are rather indistinct. There is certainly, however, a seated figure of Buddha in the middle, with his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching, and to the left, that is, on his right hand, there is a second figure seated with his hands raised apparently in adoration. To the left of the scene there is a palm-tree and a huge peacock. nearly as tall as the two storeys of the building. Near the bottom of the steps there is a woman with her left arm stretched upwards, and carrying a round vessel in her right hand Outside the stairs to the right there are two objects which I take to be the head-dresses and broken faces of two figures. On the right all the rest of the sculpture is lost, but on the left of the staircase there appears to be a second flight of steps. The face of the stone is flat, but the back is convex. and covered with a small wavy pattern.

The subject of this curious sculpture is doubtful, but I think it not improbable that, it may be the famous flights of steps at Sankisa. The third flight is not seer on account of the angle at which the middle flight is represented. My principal reason for this identification is the presence of the woman on the lower end of the steps, whom I take to be the Bhikshuni *Utpala*, or *Utpalâvarna*, whose legend is related by both Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang. The *seated* figure of Buddha is, however, against this interpretation of the scene as a representation of the Sankisa building with its three flights of steps, as we learn from the Chinese pilgrim that the figures of Buddha and the attendant gods, Brahma and Indra, were all represented *standing* at the top of the

[1] See Plate VII, Fig. 1. [2] See Plate VII, Fig. 2.

steps, and leaning forward as if about to descend. But I see no difficulty in supposing that the upper part of the scene represents Buddha in the Trayastrinsa heavens explaining his religion to his mother, Maya Devi, immediately before his return to this world at Sankisa. Accepting this explanation as not improbable, then the female figure at the bottom of the steps will undoubtedly be intended for the Bhikshuni Utpala.

According to Fa Hian,[1] when the rumour of Buddha's descent became known—

"then the Bhikshuni Utpalâ began to think thus with herself: 'To-day the king, ministers, and people are all going to meet Buddha and render homage to him, but I, a woman, how can I contrive to get the first sight of him?' Buddha immediately, by his divine power, changed her into a holy chakravarti râja, and in that capacity she was the very first to reverence Buddha on his return."

In this account Fa Hian has omitted the most interesting portion of the legend, which has luckily been preserved by Hwen Thsang.[2] As a chakravarti king, or supreme monarch, Utpala was escorted by four bodies of soldiers, which enabled her to make her way to the foot of the steps. Immediately on reaching the flights of steps, *she became again the Bhikshuni Utpala*, and thus, as a woman, was the first to behold Buddha on his return.

The story of Utpala is also noticed in the Devya avadana, where the Sthâvira Upagupta informs Asoka of the descent of Buddha from the Trayastrinsa heavens and the glorious metamorphosis of Utpalana-varna, who was transformed into a chakravarti râja.[3]

In the accompanying sketch I have completed the circle to show the original size of this curious piece of carving. The centre of the circle was first obtained from the remaining portion of the circumference, and as it falls immediately under the figure of Buddha, which was no doubt placed in the middle of the composition, I have every confidence in the size of the medallion as given in the plate. I have restored a few lines of railing on the right hand to assist in completing the picture.

[1] Beal's Fa Hian, C. xvii, p. 63; and Laidlay's Fa Hian, p. 121.

[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, p. 240. M. Julien has rendered the Chinese translation of the nun's name by Pundarika Varna in his text, and by Padmavarna in his index. But Fa Hian's *transcript* of the name as Yeu-pho-lo, or Utpala, shows that the equivalent for lotus in her name was certainly Utpala, and not Pundarika or Padma.

[3] Burnouf: Introduction à l' histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 399.

No. 3 is a piece of hard fine-grained soapstone two inches and three-quarters in diameter. It has a very elaborately carved deep border surrounding an inner circle divided into twelve spaces. Three of these are occupied by figures of men standing, three more by palm-trees, and the remaining six by a common Buddhist symbol. I obtained a broken piece of a similarly carved *plaque* from Shahdheri or Taxila. It wants the outer circle altogether, but there are the same men and the same palm-trees. The circle also is of the same size as the inner circle of the Sankisa carving, but instead of the six symbols, there are six simple tall cones. Their use is still a mystery. It is possible that they may have served some purpose for a lady's toilet, or perhaps as receptacles for quicklime, which is used in small quantities with the betel-nut and *pân* leaf.

No. 4 is a terra-cotta figure of one-half size. There is nothing specially worthy of notice in the figure except that it is unusually perfect. From the beaded zone round her loins I conclude that the figure is an old one. She holds a lotus flower by the stalk in her right hand, while her left hand rests on her hip.

No. 5 is a broken piece of carving in black stone. It represents the death, or *nirvâna*, of Buddha, who is seen lying on his right side, with his right hand under his head. This is in exact accordance with the received accounts of his position when he died, and also in strict agreement with all the sculptures of the nirvana that I have met with. The attendant figures are monks, with their right shoulder bare; but I am unable to recognise any of them. On the opposite face of this small slab there is the fore-leg of a very large elephant, being about three-quarters of an inch thick, with a foot 1 inch in diameter. The animal must therefore have been about 6 inches in height; and if there were any figures on his back, the whole sculpture must have been about 8 inches high by some 10 inches in length. In front of the elephant's leg there is a soldier 1¾ inch in height. He is dressed in a *dhoti*, or loin-cloth, and armed with a sword and shield. His head is bare, with the hair parted down the middle, and he wears a large circular ear-ring. I conclude that what the scene represents was a procession, with the elephant bearing a relic casket on his head.

No. 6 is a specimen of several goldsmiths' moulds in soapstone for casting small pieces of jewellery. The narrow mouths for pouring in the molten metal are still perfect in

several of them. The specimen given in the plate has been selected on account of its bearing three Arian Pali letters just above the circle of ornament. I read them as *paretha*. There are traces of Arian letters on two other moulds. The occurrence of these Arian characters is both curious and interesting, as it would seem to show that some western goldsmiths must have settled at Sankisa. As the Arian characters were not used in Northern India after the downfall of the Indo-Scythians, these moulds may be ascribed with much probability to the period of their rule.

In addition to the specimens given in the plate, I was fortunate enough to obtain about a dozen examples of terracotta figures of an early period. Most of them are female, with large ear-rings, elaborate head-dresses, and beaded zones. Two of them represent either Mâyâ Devi, or the goddess Lakshmi, being anointed by two elephants, one on each side. One of the male figures carries a harp in his hand, similar in shape to the harp in the Bharhut and Mathura sculptures and on the coins of Samudra Gupta.

I also obtained two stone dishes or stands for vessels. The larger one is a blue stone similar to the clay slate of the Gândhâra sculptures, and was therefore most probably brought from the banks of the Indus. The smaller one is a pale, pinkish, fine-grained sandstone, similar to that which is now obtained from the quarries near Fatehpur Sikri.

The blue dish is 11 inches in diameter and quite flat. It has a plain circle in the middle, 3½ inches in diameter, to receive the bottom of a vessel. Beyond this there are two circles of ornaments, of which the inner circle contains cockle shells only. The outer circle is divided into four quarters by a star of six points. In one of these quadrants there are two birds and two bears; in the next quadrant two elephants; in the third a boar and a bridled horse; and in the fourth a man and a nondescript animal. The drawing of all these figures is of the lowest school-boy type, and the execution is coarse and rough.

The smaller dish is 10 inches in diameter, and is apparently intended to represent a large lotus flower. There is an inner circle 5½ *inches in diameter*, with sloping sides, and hollowed out on the top to receive a vessel. Outside this there is a circle of petals or leaves of the lotus flower, and beyond this a second circle of floriated ornament. This stand is just 2 inches high in the middle.

There is a curious physical fact connected with the site of Sankisa which seems worthy of notice. To the west of the great mound on which the village stands, and which is known as Nagara and Katra, there is a level tract of ground embracing the villages of Basantpur, Kolûa, Sit, and Dandi, in which just below the water-level extensive remains of blackened wood are found. According to some informants this tract is separated from the Kâli Nadi by a dry tract called *Tarâi*, in which no wells are dug. According to the people, the water is not reached until the stratum of black wood has been pierced. In former days, when a hole was made, the water is said to have spurted up with some force; but during the last twenty years the water-level has sunk 3 or 4 feet below the wood-bearing stratum. The wood found is quite black, and so is the clay which overlies it. The people look upon it as something wonderful, and generally describe the wood as a *layer of planks*. But the specimens which I obtained from several different spots seemed to me like common bog-wood. It is quite possible that the Kâli Nadi may once have flowed between Sankisa and Aghat Sarai along the very tract in which this black wood is now found.

In closing his account of Sankisa, Fa Hian mentions that "50 yojans to the north of this temple there is another temple called '*fire-limit*,' which is the name of an evil spirit. Buddha in one of his incarnations converted this evil spirit, whereupon men in after ages raised a *vihâr* on the spot." The distance given in the text is almost certainly wrong, as 50 *yojans*, or 350 miles, would place the temple on the banks of the *Mâna-sarovara* lake at the source of the Sutlej river. It is unfortunate that the actual name of the place is not given, but only its translation. The term "boundary or limit of fire" would however be accurately represented by *Agnyant*, which seems a very probable derivation for *Agahat* or *Agahati*, the name of the large village on a mound 1 mile to the north-west of Sankisa. The mound is a very large one, and the village which stands upon it contains one thousand houses. The coins found in the ruins reach up to the time of the Indo-Scythians. But the sculptures which I have seen are nearly all Brahmanical and Jain. Amongst these are four brass figures of Jain pontiffs. It seems to me therefore very probable that this heretical village of *Agahat*, or *Agahati*, or *Agati*, may be the place of the evil spirit whose name was "Boundary of

fire." In this case the distance would have to be corrected from 50 *yojans*, or 350 miles, to 5 *li*, or 1 mile. In the maps the place is marked as Aghat Sarai; but the village of Sarai is quite distinct from that of Agahat, the former being on the level ground to the east of a small stream, and the latter on a very large mound to the west of the stream.

V.—PAKNA BIHAR.

In the Gangetic Provinces there are no less than four places of the name of Bihar still existing to attest the former wide-spread influence of Buddhism. The best known of these is the old town of Bihar, near Patna, which was called *Dand-Bihâr* by the early Muhammadans, who made it the capital of Bengal. The next in consequence was the Bihar in South-eastern Oudh, 30 miles to the north-west of Allahabad. As this was the chief town of that district at the time of the Muhammadan conquest, it became the residence of the Governor of Eastern Oudh. It is now generally called *Tusâran-Bihâr*, and sometimes *Süe-Bihâr*. The third place of the name is also in Oudh, near Dalmau and Pâtan, and is usually known as Pâtan-Bihar. The last of the four is the famous Buddhist *vihâr* close to Sankisa, which excited the admiration of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. I should like to have named this Sankisa-Bihar, but as it is best known to the people as Pâkna-Bihar, I have thought it right to retain the common name. Pakna is a good-sized village half-way between Bihar and Sankisa. As all the four places are described in the present report, I have thought it necessary to distinguish them by their full names.

Pakna-Bihar is situated 6 miles to the east of Sankisa, and 7 miles to the north-east of Bewar, on the Grand Trunk Road. The whole village stands on a mound; but the site of the old Buddhist vihar is quite unmistakable from its square form and great size. It lies to the south of the village, and is simply called *khera*, or "the mound." The bricks found here are 15 by 8 by 2 inches, but they have all been rubbed smooth, and must therefore have belonged to some building of consequence. Near its north-east corner was found the large statue of Buddha, which is now set up in "*Belon-ka-Mandar*." Similarly all the clay seals inscribed with the profession of the Buddhist faith, "*Ye dharma hetu*," &c., which are so common in Pakna-Bihar, came out of the great mound.

Half a mile to the north of the village there is a fine large tank, called *Mahi-tâl*, on the western bank of which are the remains of four Brahmanical temples, as all the Brahmanical figures now in the village are said to have been found there. The group of Hara-Gauri came from the high mound to the north-west of the Mahi-tal, as did also a fine stone pillar.

The village itself is occupied chiefly by Parihâr Rajputs, who are the zemindars, and by Saksena Kayaths. The latter do not now possess any lands, but they own the largest houses, and claim descent from the original immigrants from Sankisa, as is shown by their name of *Saksena*, which is only a shortened form of *Sankisena*.

The Buddhist ruin at Bihar corresponds only with the site of the great monastery described by Hwen Thsang, which, according to his account, was situated at 20 *li*, or rather more than 3 miles, to the east of Sankisa. "It was a magnificent building, on which sculpture had displayed all its wonders." It contained several hundred monks, who belonged to the school of the Sammatiyas; but besides the monks there were "many tens of thousands" of holy men dwelling near the monastery.[1]

The foundation of the monastery most probably dated from the time of the Indo-Scythians, as a fragment of an inscription which I obtained from the mound certainly belongs to one of their kings. The fragment is apparently the left hand portion of the pedestal of a small statue. It is only 4½ inches long by 2½ inches broad; but the letters are deeply cut, and correspond in all respects with those of the Indo-Scythian inscriptions found at Mathura.[2] The following is a transcript of this short record, which is important as showing that the rule of the Indo-Scythians certainly extended as far eastward as Sankisa:—

Mahârâjasya Devaputrasya * *
bho—Hastika—Hastikapu * *
Sane Bodhisatwa Devaputraka *

It is unfortunate that the first line breaks off exactly where the king's name began. If the initial letter had remained, we should have learned to whom the record belonged, whether to Kanishka, Huvishka, or Vasu Deva. The title of Devaputra was used by all these three princes, and not by the native Indians, as we learn from Samudra Gupta's mention

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 237.
[2] See Plate XII for a fac-simile of this inscription.

of the Devaputra *Shâhi-shâhân-shâhi*, whom he carefully distinguishes also from the kings of the Sakas and the Muruṇḍas, as well as from all the râjas of India.

The coins of the Indo-Scythian princes are also found in considerable numbers at Bihar, but I did not obtain even a single specimen of an earlier date, although I have visited the place twice, and have sent a servant there on a third occasion for the express purpose of collecting coins.

The great mound of ruins lies to the south of the village. It is about 1,000 or 1,100 feet long from north to south, by 700 feet broad from east to west. There are two parts higher than the rest, one of which at the southern end, marked A in the plate, is 250 feet long from east to west by 200 feet broad from north to south, the other, marked B in the plate, is about 100 feet square.[1] The former I take to be the remains of the great monastery, and the latter to be the ruins of a stûpa. At A bricks only are found, many of them very richly carved or moulded. At B many stones have been found by the people, who have broken them up and cut them into other shapes to suit their requirements. At my first visit to Bihar, I found the zemindars very uncommunicative, but on my second visit, after some questioning, a man voluntarily informed me that in one of his fields on the mound numbers of pieces of stone had been seen when ploughing. I at once purchased the green wheat standing in the part of the field which he pointed out, marked C in the plate, and began an excavation. At from 1 foot to 2 feet below the surface numberless fragments of stone of all sizes were exhumed, amongst them were bits of sculptured figures and carved stones. On the back of a small piece with a flying figure I found the words—

vadatteshan cha
* * *evamvadi,*

and on a piece of squatted figure I found—

yedha
thagato hyavadat

and in the back of a piece of red stone with a small figure there was the compound letter *shka*. The first two were in mediæval characters, and form parts of the well-known Buddhist creed. The compound letter is of an older date, about

[1] See Plate X for the positions of these points.

the time of the Indo-Scythians or earlier Guptas. From the village also I obtained a broken four-armed figure which was said to have been found on the same spot. Nearly half of the Buddhist creed is engraved on one side, and the ejaculatory monosyllables *hun hi* are cut on the lotus leaves over the head.

These fragments of the Buddhist creed are sufficient to prove that the stones must have formed part of a Buddhist building, and I have no doubt that they were excavated from the mound B close by, which is the only part of the ruins in which stones have been found. But the Buddhist character of this mound is placed beyond all doubt by the pieces of Buddhist railing which I discovered in the mound itself. One of these was a broken rail-bar of stone, with a lotus flower medallion on each side, 12½ inches in diameter, the slab being 13½ inches broad. With the usual number of three rail-bars, the railing to which this bar belonged must have been upwards of 5 feet in height.

A second rail-bar of 6¾ inches breadth was also ornamented with a lotus flower on each side. In the village a piece of pillar was found 6¾ inches in breadth, with a lotus flower in the middle. As the breadth of the rail-bars of a Buddhist railing is usually the same as that of the pillars, I have little doubt that these two fragments belonged to the same railing, which must have been nearly 3 feet in height.

A portion of a third rail-bar of 5½ inches breadth, and ornamented with similar lotus flowers, must have belonged to a still smaller Buddhist railing of not more than 28 inches in height.

I found nothing to indicate to what particular building these railings were attached; but I have no doubt there was the usual *stûpa* with a holy pipal tree, and a promenade with the thrones of the last four Buddhas, where they were believed to have sat and to have taken constitutional exercise.

To the stûpa must have belonged a fragment of some Jâtaka or other legend, with a man standing in front of a horse, who is bending down on one knee, with his nose touching the ground. Below is a line of Greek moulding of alternate long and round beads.

The actual site of the monastery, which excited the admiration of the Chinese pilgrim, I believe to have been at the south end of the ruin, where bricks both plain and carved are

found in great numbers. Some specimens of these are given in the accompanying plate.[1]

No. 1 is a thick brick with a peculiar chain pattern. The whole is 11½ inches square, with a flat surface.

No. 2 is 8½ inches square and 5½ inches high. It appears to be part of the capital of a corner pilaster.

No. 3 is a highly raised boss of 9½ inches in diameter, representing a lotus flower, with the heads of the stamens ingeniously converted into *swastikas*, or Indian sacred crosses. This was probably a wall ornament.

No. 4 is 10 inches in height, and seems to be just one-half of a brick panel for a continuous line of ornamentation.

No. 5 is part of the shaft of a pilaster 5½ inches broad.

Nos 6 and 7 are upper portions of pilaster of slightly different patterns Not one specimen out of four was complete in its breadth; but I think that they were probably not more than 7½ or 8 inches broad. The length for heading into the wall was 10 inches.

Nos. 8 and 9 are specimens of cornice mouldings; the former 4 inches thick, and the latter 2½ inches.

Nos. 10 and 11 are the upper members of the capitals of two different pilasters. Both are 10 inches broad, and very nearly of the same height. Both of them also were engaged on two faces, so that they must have belonged to two corner pilasters. I think it probable that No. 2 was the lower member of one of these capitals. It is 8½ inches square, and would have suited either of them.

But the most numerous as well as the most interesting specimens of terra-cotta are the clay seals which are found in the Buddhist mound. These are of all ages, from the time of the Indo-Scythians down to the 10th or 11th century. I have collected some of the most curious specimens in the accompanying plate. But there are others of a larger size, with 16 or 18 lines of writing, which I have been obliged to omit as the letters are so small that I have not been able to read them satisfactorily. They open with the words *Namo Bhagavato*, or "Glory to Buddha," and further on I can read *Tathâgato Namo Bhagavato Sâkya Muni.* The title of Tathagata occurs several times. I can read also the word *pratishthita* "established," which may perhaps refer either to the erection of some building, or to the dedication of some statue.

[1] See Plate XI

No. 1 is a small seal of greyish-coloured clay with a draped figure standing to the front, his right hand extended, and his left holding a spear. On each side of the figure there is a letter of the Indo-Scythian or Gupta alphabet reading *Budha*, which I take to be the name of the owner of the seal. On the back there is a compound Arian Pali character which looks like *tsa*.[1]

No. 2 is a small seal of black clay, with the name of *Vasunanda* in Gupta characters.

No. 4 is a large oblong seal of dull red-coloured clay. In the upper half there is a tree rising out of a square enclosure, with the letter *Va* to the left and *Sa* to the right. Below is the legend *Ashtavriddha* in Gupta characters.

No. 5 is a black clay seal upwards of one inch in diameter. Above there is a Bodhi tree, and below an indistinct legend in one line of Gupta letters, the reading of which is not certain. It looks like *Syama-ghosa*.

No. 6 is a small seal of black-coloured clay, with the figure of a humped bull.

No. 7 is a seal of red-coloured clay, 1 inch in diameter. It has once been covered with a blue glaze, of which several portions still remain on the face of the seal. The subject seems to be the famous triple flight of steps by which Buddha was said to have descended from the *Trayastrinsa* heavens, accompanied by the gods Brahma and Indra. As the scene of this legend was laid at Sankisa, the subject was a natural one for a seal of the great monastery close to Sankisa. In the middle of the seal there are three flights of steps leading down from a platform surrounded by a Buddhist railing. Over each flight of steps there is a single letter of the Gupta alphabet. To the left I read *Bra* for *Brahma*, in the middle *Bu* for *Buddha*, and on the right *Sa* for *Sakra* or *Indra*. The arrangement here indicated agrees with the account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who says that Brahma accompanied him *on his right side* by a silver ladder, and Indra *on his left side* by a golden one, while Buddha himself descended by a crystal staircase in the middle. But the other pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, assigns the golden staircase to Buddha, the silver staircase *on his right* to Brahma, and the crystal staircase *on his left* to Indra. It is unfortunate that this curious seal is not in better preservation.

[1] See Plate XII for these seals.

No. 8 is a large seal of bright red clay, upwards of 2 inches in length. In the middle is the word *Sánti* in Gupta characters, surrounded by a double line of beaded bordering. *Sânti* means "rest, repose, exemption from passion," which was the goal of every pious Buddhist's aspirations. It was probably the name of the owner of the seal.

No. 9 is a large seal of black clay, 1¼ inch in diameter. It bears two lines of large letters of the Gupta alphabet, which I read as *Devârâma Sanghasa,* that is "[seal] of the Assembly of the Devârâma," or Deva monastery. Perhaps this may have been the name of the great monastery described by Hwen Thsang.

No. 10 is a seal of dark-red clay with a star or star-like object in the upper half, and a legend in Gupta characters below, which I read as *Varâha-dattasya*, or "[seal] of Varâha-datta." Judging by his name, *Varâha-datta*, "given by Vishnu," should have been a worshipper of Vishnu.

No. 12 is a fine seal of black clay, upwards of an inch in diameter. In the middle is a lofty stûpa surrounded by seven lines of inscription in mediæval characters. The subject is the well-known Buddhist creed.

No. 13 is a somewhat larger seal of red-coloured clay, with the Buddhist creed arranged in five lines of finely formed and well preserved characters. They are arranged as follows :—

Ye dharmma hetu prabhava hetun teshân Tathtâgato hyâvadat teshân cha yo nirodha evam vâdi mahâ ṣramanah.

"Of all things proceeding from cause, their causes hath the Tathâgata (Buddha) explained. The great Śramana (Buddha) hath likewise explained the causes of the cessation of existence."

No. 14 is a large seal of dark red clay, upwards of 1 inch in diameter. In the upper half there is a figure of Buddha, the teacher seated on a lotus flower, his hands in front of his breast, with the fore-fingers so disposed as if enforcing his argument. Below is the Buddhist creed arranged in three lines of small well-formed characters of the later Gupta period.

There is a great variety of these small seals inscribed with the Buddhist creed. Some are round, some are oval. A few have the figure of Buddha, and several have stûpas; but the greater number have only the inscription arranged in five, six, or seven lines of carefully-executed characters. On some the letters are made sloping slightly to the right. These seals are almost invariably enclosed in balls of clay,

which frequently take the form of stûpas. But at Pakna-Bihar I was unable to obtain even a single specimen of the clay coating. All the balls, amounting to at least one hundred specimens, had been broken and thrown away.

VI.—PADHAM.

The village of Pâḍham stands on the top of one of the loftiest mounds of the Gangetic Doab, just half-way between Etah and Shekohabad, on the right bank of the Arind river. The mound stretches from north to south upwards of three-quarters of a mile in length, with a breadth of rather less than half a mile in the widest part. From the indented form of the east side, and the low ground lying to the south, which even now has pools of water, I infer that the Arind river once washed the east and south faces of the mound.[1] It still flows past the northern end, but soon turns to the eastward, until at the southern end it reaches a distance of 2,000 feet. I believe also, from the appearance of the country, that the river formerly touched the north-werst corner of the mound.. This sort of position must have been a favourite one with the old Hindus, as I have found that several of their most famous places were surrounded on three sides by a river.

The antiquity of the place is attested by the numbers of old coins that are found amongst its ruins. These include some punch-marked coins, the most ancient of all, with single specimens of the satraps Rajubul and his son Saudâsa. I got also 20 coins of the Indo-Scythian kings Kanishka and Huvishka, and 11 coins of the Indo-Sassanian period. The money of the Muhammadan kings was even more common from the time of Muhammad-bin-Sam down to Akbar. This unbroken succession of the different coinages shows that the place must have been occupied continuously from the very earliest times, and yet nothing of man's work now remains, but a few coins buried in a mound of rubbish.

The Brahmans refer the foundation of the place to Parikshita, the son of Arjuna; and they point to the Parichitkund, or well of Parikshita, as an incontestable proof of their story. There are several fine old wells built of blocks of kankar, of which one at the northern end, near the Akhâra, is 12 feet in diameter. The bricks also are large, 19 by 9½ by 3 inches. Everywhere large blocks of kankar are seen built into the

[1] See Plate XIII for a map of the mound of Pâdham.

walls of the modern houses. The only actual remains of an old building that I could find are in the walls of the Panjpir masjid, near the south end of the mound. This was originally the site of a great Hindu temple, as shown by the pillars and bands of ornament, and the pieces of an *amalaka* fruit pinnacle which are still lying about. The highest point of the mound I found to be 50 feet 3 inches.

Pâdham is mentioned during the reign of Khizr Sayid in A.H. 817, or A.D. 1414, when his general, Tâj-ul-mulk, made a campaign to chastise and plunder the infidels. He crossed the Jumna and went to the—

"town of Ahâr. Then he crossed the Ganges into the country of Katehar. * * Rai Har Sing fled into the mountains of *Anwála*. When the army of Islâm closed in upon him he was helpless, and paid taxes, money, and tribute. Muhâbat Khân, Amir of Badaon, came to wait upon Tâj-ul-mulk. After this interview, Tâj-ul-mulk, pursuing the course of the Rahab, arrived at the ford of Sarg-dwâri, and there crossed the Ganges. He chastised the infidels of *Khur* and *Kambil*, and passing through the town of *Sakina* he proceeded to Pâdham." [1]

I have quoted the whole of this passage for the purpose of pointing out other identifications besides that of *Pâdham*.

Ahâr is a well-known town on the right bank of the Ganges.

Katehar is the old Hindu name of Rohilkhand.

Anwala is *Aonla*, but there are no mountains near the place. Abdul-kâdir, who lived at Badaon, only 20 miles to the south of Aonla, did not make this mistake, but wrote "Junguls of Aonla," which was quite true of the country at that time. I have already pointed out that "it was in this very position, in the junguls to the north of Aonla, that the Katehria Rajputs withstood the Muhammadans under Firoz Tughlak."[2]

Sarg-dwâri was founded by Muhammad Tughlak in the neighbourhood of Kampila.

Khur and *Kambil* have already been identified by Professor Dowson with *Shamsâbâd* and *Kampila*.

Sakina should be *Sakît*, a large town 12 miles to the south-east of Etah.

Bâdham is the town which I have described above as Pâdham. It is 12 miles to the south-west of Sakit, and 18 miles to the north-north-east of Shekohabad.

[1] Tarikh-i-Mubârak Shah, in Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, IV, 47.

[2] Archæological Survey of India, I, 257.

VII.—BHITARGAON.

The village of Bhitargaon, or Bâri-Bhitari, is situated just half-way between Cawnpore and Hamirpore, at 20 miles to the south of the former place, and 10 miles to the north-west of Kora-Jahanabad. My attention was first drawn to the place by my old friend, Râja Siva Prasâd, who reported that there was an old temple possessing terra-cotta sculpture of a superior kind. I paid a hasty visit to Bhitargaon early in November 1877, and I returned to it again in February 1878. The place has also been visited by my zealous assistant, Mr. J. D. Beglar, from whose photographs of the temple I have selected the front view given in the plate.

Bhitargaon means the "Inner-town," and the present village is said to have been in the heart of an ancient city named *Phûlpur,* or "Flower-town." The village of Bârigaon, or "Outer-town." more than half a mile to the east, is pointed out as one of the ancient suburbs, and the whole of the land of these two villages is known by the general name of *Bari-Bhitari.* Thev stand in the midst of a group of villages, which in the rains are surrounded by the waters of the Rind or Arind river. In one of these villages, named Paraoli there is a small circular temple of brick, and at Râr, 5 miles to the south, and outside the island, there are two other brick temples of the same class. All of these will be described hereafter.

The one large temple at Bhitargaon which is still standing on the east of the village, is called simply *Dewal,* or "the temple," and nothing whatever is known of its history. To the south at 500 feet there is a large mound of brick ruins which is said to be the remains of the temple of *Jhijhi Nâg.* I strongly suspect, however, that the name is a late invention, derived perhaps from the snake which still canopies one of the several broken figures that were dug out of the ruins. It is a two-armed standing male figure, with the snake's undulated body behind. Numerous ornamental bricks were found in this mound, with which I was able to repair several broker places in the lower part of the standing temple, as many of the mouldings and dimensions were the same in both buildings.

The brick temple named Dewal is a square of 66 feet, with the corners indented, and a projecting portico or entrance hall on the east. The walls are 8 feet thick. Altogether it is 47 feet long and 36¼ feet broad. It is built throughout of large well-burnt bricks, 18 × 9 × 3 inches, laid

in mud mortar. A flight of six steps leads up to a small ante-room, 8 feet by 7 feet 3 inches, from which a passage, 8 feet in length, opens into the main room. The two passages are roofed with semi-circular vaults, and the two rooms with pointed domes. These vaults are built after the Hindu fashion with the bricks placed edge to edge, instead of face to face. The outer semi-circular arch, which covered the entrance steps, has fallen down; but some of the bricks still remain to show that its construction was exactly the same as that of the semi-circular arch between the two rooms. Both the arches and the domes rise from imposts, as shown in the accompanying section.[1] This particular kind of arching I propose to call the Hindu arch, as it seems to be peculiar to India.

Above the main dome there is a second square chamber of similar size, which was also covered with a vault of the same construction. In the Paraoli temple this upper vault is fully exposed to view by the falling down of the north-western half of the temple. In the Bhitargaon temple the upper vault is not visible from the outside; but it has been seen by many of the villagers, who are accustomed to climb to the top of the temple during the dry weather. Thirty years ago the upper part of the temple was intact, but a few years before the mutiny [the people say *do-char*, or "three" years], the spire was struck by lightning, when the upper part was thrown down, and the upper room became exposed to the sky. All agree that this room is square.

The interior of the temple is now only plain earth, the whole of the floor having been dug up. I found two fragments of a terra-cotta figure, which most probably belonged to some of the alto-relievos on the outside. The two Musulman masons whom I brought from Kora-Jahanabad to repair one of the broken corners of the temple, declared that the figures had been mutilated by European soldiers. On being closely questioned, however, it appeared that they had only *heard* so. The villagers themselves denied that the mutilations had been done by the soldiers, and said that they were the work of the Muhammadans themselves long ago. I think, however, that much of the injury must have been due to the imperfect burning of the bas-reliefs, which are invariably black, and comparatively soft inside.

Exteriorly the temple is decorated with numerous figures in terra-cotta. In the lower part the figures are of large size,

[1] See Plate XIV for plan and section of this temple.

2 feet 6 inches in height by 2 feet in breadth. These are placed in niches which are separated by bold ornamental pilasters 4 feet 6 inches in height. In the centre of the west face opposite the entrance there is a figure of the Vâraha Avatâra of Vishnu with the boar's head. On the north side there is a figure of Durgâ with four arms, and on the south side a four-armed figure of Ganes. Many of the remaining figures appear to be only various forms of Vishnu and Siva and their wives, as one of them has eight arms. Judging from the position of the Varâha incarnation at the back of the building, I conclude that the temple must have been dedicated to Vishnu.

As the Bhitargaon Dewal is the only specimen of an ancient-brick temple now standing in Northern India, and as this style of building would appear to have prevailed very extensively for several centuries, it may be useful to give a somewhat detailed account of the style of this unique example. I have found moulded and carved bricks of similar designs all over the Panjâb and North-Western Provinces, from Shâhdheri, or Taxila, and Multân on the west, to Srâvasti and Garhwâ on the east. At every old site these carved and moulded bricks are found in abundance, and I have now ascertained that many of the most famous buildings in Northern India at the time of the Muhammadan invasion must have been built entirely of brick, and were decorated with terracotta ornaments and alto-relievos. This was certainly the case with the great temple of the Sun at Multân, with the famous shrine of Jagsoma at Thânesar, with the great Buddhist buildings at Sankisa, Kosambi, and Srâvasti, and with all the Brahmanical temples of the Gupta period at Bilsar, Bhitargaon, Garhwâ, and Bhitari. In the more easterly provinces of Bihâr and Bengal the same causes of the want and costliness of stone gave birth to the great brick temples of Bodh-Gaya and Nâlanda. Even at Mathura and Benares, within a few miles of the sandstone quarries of Rupbâs and Chunâr, moulded and carved bricks are found in great abundance.

The most characteristic feature of the brick temples is the employment of the arch. In the earlier examples of brick-building at Bodh-Gaya and Konch, the front openings are tall and ungainly holes, formed by the gradual overlapping of the bricks. But the constructive weakness and consequent failure of this form of opening must have led very soon to the adoption of the arch in all brick structures. In

the great temple of Bodh-Gaya there are both arches and domes, but, as I have already pointed out, it seems highly probable that both are of later date than the body of the temple. Similarly, at Nâlanda, in the great temple of Balâditya, where the arches are confined to the *additional* work of the newer basement storey, it is certain that they must be of later date than the main building. But in the Bhitargaon temple both the pointed domes and the semi-circular arches of the passages are parts of the original building. It is true that the date of this building is not absolutely known; but judging from its style it cannot, in my opinion, be placed later than the 7th or 8th century, and is probably even older. Of course this opinion may be contested by those who believe that the Hindus were ignorant of the arch. Formerly I held this belief myself; but since I have become aware that the relic chambers of the Buddhist stûpas at Birdâban[1] and Jamüi were arched over, I have come to the conclusion that the arch was certainly known to the Buddhists of India before the Muhammadan invasion. But the arches of these chambers, as well as those of the Bhitargaon and Bodh-Gaya temples, differ from the Muhammadan arches in their mode of construction, although their principle is precisely the same. In the Hindu arch, as I propose to call it, the voussoirs are invariably placed end to end, instead of face to face, as is done in Europe. This mode of construction, although strong enough for small domes, was a very faulty one for simple arches, as each ring of bricks formed a distinct and separate arch, which had no bond with its neighbours. The outer ring, therefore, was always liable to peel away or fall off from the face of an arch. In the Bodh-Gàya temple an attempt has been made to remedy this defect by placing the bricks in blocks of five alternately face to face and end to end. But this was only a partial remedy, as the same defect still remained, each segment of arch being a distinct and separate arch of five bricks thick, which had no bond with its neighbours.[2]

In its general outline, and in the arrangement of the bands of ornament and sculpture, the brick temple of Bhitargaon approaches nearer to the brick temple of Bodh-Gaya than to the stone temples of a later age. The lower part up

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, p. 157, and Plate XLVI, fig. 7, for a section of the relic chamber. At Nongarh arches were actually found in a ruined temple beneath the stûpa.

[2] See the accompanying Plate XV, in which the round arch of the inner passage and the pointed dome of the porch are both distinct.

to the height of 7 or 8 feet consists of plain bold mouldings above which there is a series of panels 2½ feet in height, filled with groups in terra-cotta, and divided from each other by pilasters 4¼ feet in height. These pilasters support a richly carved cornice which runs continuously all round the building. Many of the figures are boldly designed and well drawn. I noticed particularly some seated figures of men and women in conversation. One woman, who was leaning forward with one leg drawn back, was very skilfully moulded. But generally the action is too violent, and the figures become grotesque. Their execution, however, is still far superior to that of most of the existing stone temples of later period. Resting on the cornice there is a continuous line of small terra-cotta sculptures, each 16 inches long and 9 inches in height, divided from each other by small ornamented balusters. The subjects of these panels are mostly fantastic figures of men and dragons, either alone or in conflict with each other. Some panels contain only flowers and foliage, or single elephants, &c. In the accompanying plate I have given sketches of two of these terra-cotta sculptures, with the deeply cut cornice mouldings which have shielded them from the weather.[1] In the left hand compartment there are two cocks fighting. The figures, which are boldly raised, are of yellowish-red outside, with a fine glossy surface; but inside the clay is black and coarse, and imperfectly burned. The outer surface is about one-sixth of an inch thick. In the right hand compartment there were originally two dragons, but the left animal is now gone, excepting the proboscis, which is wound round the left man's thigh, and a portion of the foliated tail which encircles his body. The second dragon has the same man's left leg in his mouth, while he lifts aloft a woman with his proboscis, and entangles a second man in the coils of his foliated tail. The drawing is spirited, but the action is too violent. The deeply cut upper line of the cornice, with its alternating lines of light and shade, forms a very effective moulding, and is repeated again above the band of figures.

Above the upper cornice there is, first, a line of square beaded panels with hood mouldings containing generally half length figures. Next come two lines of small round beaded panels, also with hood mouldings, containing heads projecting boldly forwards. Then comes another cornice with another line of square beaded panels with hood mouldings: then five

[1] See Plate XVI.

more lines of small panels with heads. As each successive course is retired several inches, the width of the temple gradually decreases towards the top, until in each face of the building there is room for only one niche. Above this point, at a height of 44 feet, the top of the temple is altogether gone. Every year during the rains when the mud plaster is softened by wet, many bricks fall from above, and no one ventures to climb to the top. All the upper niches have been uncovered and are now empty; but the sculpture given in the accompanying plate once occupied one of these upper niches.[1] The subject is Vishnu as Nârâyana reposing on the snake Ananta, while Brahmâ is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which issues from Vishnu's navel. The hood moulding has been completed from the broken portions which still remain. The sculpture is 19 inches long by 9½ inches high.

At a distance of 530 feet nearly due south from the Dewal, there is a mound of ruins covered with large bricks and broken figures. According to the people these are the remains of a temple called *Jhijhi Nâg*. I made a complete excavation of this mound, which brought to light numerous carved bricks, which I recognised as belonging to cornices and pilasters similar to those of the Dewal temple. A few of the carved bricks belonged to a narrow line of continuous ornament separated by balusters. One of these is represented in the accompanying plate.[2] Here the small balusters which divide the panels are separate pieces; while those of the Dewal temple are attached to the panels.

In plan the Jhijhi temple was quite different from the Dewal. I found a single room 22½ feet long by 7½ feet broad with walls 4½ feet thick, and a door in one of the long sides facing the east. In the back wall there were four niches. To the east, in front of the door, I found a wall at 8½ feet distant, and a second wall at 6½ feet beyond the first. From the style and patterns of the moulded bricks, this temple was certainly of the same period as the Dewal. Its present name of *Jhijhi Nâg* I take to have been given, as I have before stated, by the people from one of the broken statues having an undulated snake behind his back. I found also four large stone statues, each about 4 feet high, of which three were male and one female. I presume that they once occupied the four niches of the ruined temple.

[1] See Plate XVII.

[2] See Plate XVII, fig. 2. The similar carved brick, fig. 1, to the right is from the great monastery of Pakna Bihar, near Sankisa.

It seems strange how the Bhitargaon temple with its numerous terra-cotta sculptures could have escaped the iconoclastic fury of the Muhammadan conquerors. Perhaps its escape may be solely due to its lucky position. During the great idol-breaking period, when Cawnpore was unknown, and Lucknow was a mere country town, the main lines of road passed by Bhitargaon on all sides at many miles distance. The high-road from Allahâbâd leading up the Doab divides into two at Fatehpur, the one going to Kanauj and the other to Etâwa, leaving Bhitargaon in the broad space between them. Similarly the two roads from Kanauj *viâ* Kâlpi, and from Oudh *viâ* Dalmau and Chilla Târa Ghat, to Mahoba and the south, passed many miles to the west and east of the lucky village. Embosomed amid thick groves of trees, and protected by the windings of the Arind river, the temple is so completely hidden, that I failed to descry it even at my second visit until I was within one mile of the village. I suppose also that the temple was a private one of no special fame, and that not being a place of pilgrimage its name was unknown, except amongst the surrounding villages. Had it been a place of pilgrimage, like Thânesar or Mathura, it would not have escaped the avarice of Mâhmûd, or the bigotry of Sikandar Lodi.

VIII.—PARAOLI.

The people of Bhitargaon say that there was once a brick temple at every *kos* along the bank of the Arind river. There certainly is one at Paraoli, rather more than one *kos* distant to the north, and there is a second at Simbhua, some three *kos* to the west, and two more at Râr, about five *kos* to the south, but there are only two of them on the Arind, the two temples of Râr being far away from the river.

The pretty little temple of Paraoli is unfortunately imperfect, about one-half of it having fallen down. But the standing half is in very good preservation, and is remarkable for the uniform bright red colour of its bricks. In plan, it is a polygon of sixteen sides externally standing on a circular plinth, with a circular chamber 6 feet 8 inches in diameter, and no portico. The walls are 3 feet 4 inches thick. The temple is therefore only 13 feet 4 inches in diameter, each of the 16 sides being 2 feet 5 inches. The chamber was covered with a pointed dome, built with bricks end to end after the Hindu fashion, and there was a second domed chamber above to lessen the weight on the walls. The door

was on the west side, and on each of the other three sides there was a small niche only 11½ inches high and 6½ inches broad. All these niches must once have held figures, but no one had seen them or even heard of them. Inside, in the centre of the circle, there is a *lingâm*. Outside, the whole surface of the walls is richly decorated with deeply cut arabesque ornament in perpendicular lines, the edges of each face being distinctly marked by sunken lines by the omission of a brick in every alternate course. The effect is decidedly good, as the different faces are all clearly defined.

The Simbhua temple is so thickly covered with plaster, that it no longer commands any interest. The inner chamber is only 8 feet 3 inches square.

IX.—RÂR.

Of the two small temples at Râr, one is built on the same plan as the Bhitargaon Dewal, and the other on the plan of the Jhijhi Nâg temple. The former has no name, and its exterior dimensions are only 10 feet 3 inches by 9 feet 6 inches, with a portico projecting 3 feet on the north side. The chamber is only 4½ feet by 4 feet.

The larger temple is dedicated to *Chandika Devi*. Its entrance is on the west, through a passage 8 feet long by 2½ feet wide, which leads into a chamber 10½ feet long by 6 feet broad, with the longer side facing the door. Externally it is 18½ feet long by 12½ feet broad, or with the portico 17 feet. Outside, this temple is decorated in the same style as that of Paraoli, the same flowered ornament being repeated from top to bottom. Here also nothing is known about the builders of the temples.

X.—NEWAL, OR NAVADEVAKULA.

On leaving Kanauj, the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang travelled for 100 *li*, or about 17 miles, to the south-east to *Na-po-ti-po-kiu-lo*, or *Navadevakula*, which he places on the eastern bank of the Ganges, or on the opposite side of the river to Kanauj.[1] The earlier pilgrim, Fa Hian, made the same journey, but he makes the distance and bearing 3 *yojans*, or 21 miles, to the south. This bearing, however, is certainly wrong, as he distinctly states that he *crossed the Ganges.*[2]

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 265.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XVIII, p. 71.

I formerly looked for this place along the present course of the river, but I was not satisfied with any of the proposed identifications between Kanauj and Prayâg, or Allahabad. I therefore examined, very carefully, all the large maps of the Revenue Survey of Oudh, in which I found two places named Bihar, besides some very strongly marked traces of an old bed of the Ganges beginning in the neighbourhood of Nanamau Ghat, a little below Kanauj, and running the whole way down to Allahabad at some distance from the present course of the river. In a few places the two channels are as much as 20 miles apart, as between Dhondia Khera and Pâtan Bihar, but the general breadth of the intervening tract is not more than 8 or 10 miles. In the upper part between Nânamau and Bângar-mau, the whole breadth of 6 or 7 miles between the present course of the Ganges and the old bed, now called the Kalyâni Nadi, is *Khâdar*, or low-lying alluvial land, showing the extreme limits of the Ganges channel at different periods.

I had formerly supposed that all traces of *Navadevakula* must have been swept away by these changes of the Ganges; but on carefully reading all Hwen Thsang's statements over again, it struck me that by assuming that the Ganges had flowed down this old channel in his time, it might perhaps be possible to identify several of the places described by him between Kanauj and Allahabad which have hitherto baffled us. I determined therefore to explore the line of the Ganges between these places, and the result of my explorations, made early in 1878, will be found in the following pages.

The position of Bângar-mau, on the high bank of the old course of the Ganges, and just 20 miles to the south-west of Kanauj, struck me as a very likely representative of the old city of Navadevakula. On visiting the place I was much pleased to find my conjecture verified in the ruined mounds of *Newal*, just 2 miles to the north of Bângar-mau. According to the legends of the people, Newal was a large and flourishing city, under a râja named Nala, when the Mussalmans first invaded the country. Sayid Ala-uddin bin Ghanaun came from Kanauj to Newal, and wished to settle at Bângar-mau; but the râja ordered him to go away, and sent his servants to drive him out. On this the saint cursed him, when the city was immediately turned upside down, leaving only the mounds which are seen at the present day. So firmly do the people believe this story, that they affirm that all relics of the old city, no matter of what kind, are always

found upside down. Hence the old site is generally known as *Aundhâ Khera.* or "Topsy-turvy town." The saint then took up his residence at Bângar-mau, and died there in A.H. 702, or A.D. 1302, as stated on his tomb. The date is recorded at the end of a long line of inscription over the entrance door of the tomb inside the verandah. He is better known as the *Jati*, or "celibate," because he remained unmarried. Some people say that the saint founded Bângar-mau, but all agree in referring the name of the place to a *dhobi*, or washerman, named *Bângar*, who is said to be buried in the tomb in front of the saint's own shrine. This second tomb has three inscriptions: two inside and one outside. One of the inside records is dated in A.H. 782, and the other in A.H. 784 [*hafsad o hashtâd o chahâram*], which is also the date of the inscription outside. In the last record I was able to read the following words:—

ba ahad Daolat Shah Muâzam Shah-in-shah
* * * Firoz Shâh Barbak, &c.

which agree with the date in assigning the tombs to the reign of Firoz Tughlak.

The court-yard of the saint's tomb is paved with large bricks, 15 by 10 inches, stamped with four finger-marks, and the verandah contains twelve Hindu pillars. In the tomb in front there are eight more Hindu pillars, and lying round about there are many blocks of kankar, of red sandstone from Sikri, and of a dirty yellow stone. There are also several capitals of pillars in red sandstone. The tombs are on a high mound, which was no doubt the site of some old Hindu building.

The mounds of Newal are situated about 2 miles to the north of Bângar-mau, on the bank of the Pachnai Nala, and on the high bank of the old course of the Ganges, which is now called the Kalyâni Nadi. The Kalyani however no longer flows under Newal, its present course being 3 miles to the south; but the whole of the intervening space is low-lying *khadar* land, the alluvion of the old Ganges. The village itself stands on a mound, and is undoubtedly an old place. It is just 19 miles from Kanauj, and therefore suits exactly the mean between the 21 miles of Fa Hian and the 17 miles of Hwen Thsang. I believe also that the name of *Newal* is only an abbreviated form of *Navadevakula*, as it retains the first and last syllables unchanged. Hwen Thsang derives it from the conversion of five hundred demons,

who, after having heard the *dharma* explained by Buddha, changed their nature and were re-born amongst the gods. Hence the name of *Navadevakula*, or "new god race."

The ancient remains at Newal consist of the following mounds, with traces of walls, carved bricks, broken statues, and terra-cottas, including also coins and beads.

Deora-dih is a high mound immediately to the west of the village, out of which the people were digging large bricks, 15 by 9 and 14 by 9 inches, at the time of my visit. I traced two lines of wall at right angles. Close by under some bushes there was a heap of fragments of carved bricks and terra-cotta figures.

Sitalah-dih is a small mound to the north-west of the last. Under it I found another collection of fragments of stone and brick. Amongst the former there was a four-armed figure of Vishnu standing, and several heads of Buddha.

Dâno-thero is a large and lofty mound 3,500 feet west-north-west of the village. This is still occupied by a Brahmanical temple, and there are several Brahmanical figures collected outside. Close by to the eastward there is another large mound, but of little height, on which there are also traces of buildings, but no figures.

Mahâdeva and *Phulwâri* are two sites of Brahmanical temples, at which several figures in stone and terra-cotta are collected. They are both to the north of the village.

To the east of the last and to the north-east of the village on the bank of the Pachnai Nala, there are two other mounds covered with broken bricks. They have no names, and there are no figures or other signs of antiquity about them.

In comparing Hwen Thsang's account of the buildings at Navadevakula with the remains now existing at Newal and Bangar-mau, it is necessary to remember that although the extreme points of the two places are about 2 miles apart, yet the distance between the village of Newal and the high mounds of Bângar-mau is only 1 mile. I have no doubt therefore that the old buildings, which once stood on the mounds of Bângar-mau, must have belonged to the larger town of *Navadevakula*, or Newal, which Hwen Thsang describes as being 20 *li*, or upwards of 3 miles in circuit. The following is a list of buildings seen by Hwen Thsang, whose detailed account is corroborated by the meagre account of Fa Hian, who simply says that "Here also Buddha preached the law," and that stûpas had been erected in this spot, and

also where he sat down and walked for exercise.[1] I have attached a letter of the alphabet to each of Hwen Thsang's notices.[2]

A. To the north-west of the town, and to the east of the Ganges, there was a temple of the gods (*devâlaya*), of which the pavilions and towers of several storeys were as remarkable for their beautiful workmanship as for their wonderful design.

B. At 5 *li*, or nearly 1 mile, to the east of the town, there were three monasteries, of which the walls were all alike, but the gates different.

C. At about 200 paces beyond the monasteries there was a stûpa of Asoka, about 100 feet in height, built on the spot where Buddha had explained the law for seven days. It contained relics (*Sarira*).

D. Close by, in different places, were the thrones of the last four Buddhas, and the spots where they used to walk for exercise.

E. At 3 or 4 *li* (upwards of half a mile) to the north of the three monasteries, and on the bank of the Ganges, there was a stûpa about 200 feet in height built by Asoka. This was the spot where Buddha had explained the law to 500 demons, who after conversion gave up their demon existence and became a "new race of gods" (*Nava-deva-kula*).

F. Beside this stûpa also, there were thrones of the last four Buddhas, and places where they had walked for exercise.

G. A little further there is a stûpa containing the hair and nail-parings of Buddha.

Taking the present village of Newal as representing the position of the ancient town, it is clear that the great Brahmanical temple, A, must have been at *Dâno-thero*, at some distance to the north-west of the town. It stands on the high bank of the old course of the Ganges in a very commanding position.

For the other buildings, which are all Buddhist, we must look in the direction of Bângar-mau. The first place is 5 *li* to the east, where stood the three monasteries of the same external appearance, marked B. For east, I would propose to read south-east, which is very nearly the direction of Bângarmau. These monasteries, and the stûpa of Asoka, C, which

[1] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XVIII, p. 71.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 266.

was 100 feet in height, I would place in the old fort; and the other great stûpa of 200 feet, marked E, I would place on the site of the Sayid's tomb. I have already noticed that the court-yard of the tomb is paved with large Hindu bricks.

The third stûpa, F, which contained the hair and nail-parings of Buddha, I would locate on the site of the second tomb, which is ascribed to the *dhobi* named Bângar. I am induced to do this for the following reason:—In Csoma de Körösi's Analysis of the Tibetan Books, there is an account of a Sakya named Shampaka, who being banished from Kapila retired to *Bâgud*, carrying with him some of Buddha's hair and nail-parings, over which he built a *Chaitya*. He was made king of *Bâgud*, and the monument was named after himself.[1] The name of *Bâgud* is a very uncommon one, and it seems to me quite possible that it may be the same place as *Bângar*. Both stûpas contained the hair and nail-parings of Buddha, and as the two names are absolutely the same, I can see no possible objection to the identification.

In the accompanying plate I have given several specimens of the terra-cotta figures and carved bricks which I found at Newal. As all of these that can be recognised belong to the Brahmanical worship, I have no doubt that most of them were brought from the ruins of the great Brahmanical temple of *Dâno-thero*, whose beautiful workmanship excited the admiration of Hwen Thsang. I have added a single terra-cotta from Mathura (No. 1), for comparison with one of these Newal specimens.[2]

No. 1 is a boldly-carved specimen from Mathura. I found it placed upside down in the pavement of the ruined Jain temple, now called *Kankâli-tîla*, or the "Kankâli mound." The design is very spirited. I cannot even guess as to what animal the head may belong to. There are no legs, but only very deeply-cut floriated limbs and tail. From the small flowered baluster on the left, I recognise this sculpture as one of the panels of a continuous band of ornament that once adorned some building at Mathura. It is 14 inches long by 8 inches high.

No. 2, from Newal, is 14 inches long by 7½ inches high, and from the flowered baluster on the left I conclude that it once formed part of a continuous band of ornament on the Newal temple like the larger specimens which I have given

[1] Asiatic Researches of Bengal, XX, p. 88. [2] See Plate XVIII.

from the great brick temple at Bhitargoan.[1] The subject is the head and trunk of a man with floriated limbs and tail, instead of arms and legs.

No. 3 is unfortunately imperfect, but enough remains to show that the subject was a cart drawn by bullocks, with a man seated above. As the height of the fragment is exactly the same as that of No. 2, or 7½ inches, I think that the original was most probably a second panel of the same continuous band of ornament. If so, it would have been 14 inches in length, or considerably more than twice the length of the present fragment.

No. 4 is the head of a male figure 4½ inches in height, or about half the size of life. Its discovery is important, as it shows that there must have been sculptures in terra-cotta, attached to the Newal temple, from 2½ to 3 feet in height. The pouting lower lip is precisely the same as that of several large stone heads which I found in the ruins of the great temple at Kho, near Uchahara. If I am right in supposing that these figures may have belonged to the great Brahmanical temple which was seen by Hwen Thsang in 636 A.D., then the date of the temple cannot be placed later than A.D. 600.

Fig. 5 is the upper member of the capital of a corner pilaster. It is 10 inches square, and deeply carved on two faces.

Fig. 6 is the lower member of the capital of a corner pilaster. It is circular, with a diameter of 8 inches, and may once have been placed under No. 5.

No. 7 is the capital of a common pilaster with only one face. It is 11½ inches broad and 3 inches thick.

XI.—SANCHANKOT.

The great mound of Sanchânkot (or Sujânkot) stands on the right or south bank of the Sai river, about half-way between Bângar-mau and Sandila. The river makes a bend and washes two faces of the mound, which is generally known as *Kilah*, or "the fort." This was always a favourite position with the Hindus, and as the place is on the high-road between Kanauj and Ajudhya, I have no doubt that it was occupied at a very early date. The fort is nearly half a mile square, with two suburbs outside: one to the north-west, which is deserted, and the other to the south-east, on

[1] See Plates XVI and XVII.

which stands the present village. To the south of the village, and close to the high-road leading to Sandila, there is another mound with a large round pit in the middle, from which bricks of a stûpa have been dug out by the villagers. The stûpa was only 18⅛ feet in diameter, but it stood on a lofty terrace, 60 feet square and 15 feet above the fields, with a wall 6 feet thick all round. It was built entirely of very large wedge-shaped bricks, which must have been made for the purpose, as they are slightly curved outside. I saw many broken pieces lying about; but on enquiry amongst the villagers, I obtained six perfect specimens, which measured 18¼ inches in length on the outer face, and 17⅜ inches on the inner face, with a breadth of 11⅜ inches, and a thickness of 4 inches. I found that six bricks laid together touching each other formed exactly one-sixth of the circumference, or 9 feet 1½ inch. As this was also the radius of the circle, the diameter of the stûpa must have been 18 feet 3 inches. The bricks were all excavated some years ago by the zamindar of the village, who found "a round pot containing bones, and nothing else." This was his account; but I ascertained from the *Kanjars* who were actually employed in digging out the stûpa, eight or ten years ago, that there were five relic boxes inside the pot, four of which were of black stone, and one of white stone (most probably they were all of steatite, or soap-stone). In the black caskets there were some rotten pearls, and in the white casket there was a large piece of pale-amethyst-coloured quartz. This I have got. It is 1 inch long and ¾ths of an inch thick with a hole through the middle.

Out of 52 coins which I procured at Sanchânkot, there were no less than 45 old Indian, 2 Indo-Scythian of Huvishka, and only 5 Musalman. The Hindu coins were of the oldest known kinds, both punch-marked and cast. It is certain, therefore, that the site was occupied as early as 500 B.C., and perhaps much earlier.

I obtained also a few specimens of terra-cotta figures, of which one is Vishnu sitting on Garud; a second, 5 inches in height, presents a female dressed in a double petticoat, and wearing a very peculiar head-dress, in shape like a bason.

XII.—PATAN-BIHAR.

Forty miles nearly due south from Lucknow and 32 miles to the south-east of Cawnpore, there is an old de-

cayed town named Bihâr, which, to distinguish it from other places of the same name, is usually called Pâtan-Bihâr, by joining to it the name of Pâtan, a small town in the neighbourhood. The present town of Bihâr is not more than 200 or 300 years old; but the site of the large ruined fort to the south is said to be very ancient. It is rather more than a quarter of a mile long from north to south, by 1,000 feet in breadth at the northern end, and 750 feet at the southern end. The whole is built of mud, with round towers and a broad deep ditch, which widens into a large sheet of water on the north side. In the middle of the fort there is a square mound of brick ruins, of which the walls have been dug out. The remains of rooms are still marked by the straight lines of excavation. There are fragments of very large thick bricks of the olden time, mixed with the thin bricks of a later date. But the old bricks are said to have been nearly all carried away to build the houses of the present town. I found the large bricks in the foundations of a Muhammadan tomb and *idgah* close to the fort.

I visited this place because from its position it seemed probable that it might be the old town named *O-yu-to* by Hwen Thsang. On leaving *Nava-deva-kula*, or Newal, the pilgrim travelled 600 *li*, or 100 miles, to the south-east, and crossing the Ganges to the south reached *Oyuto*. If the Ganges then held its present course, the place must be looked for somewhere to the north-west of Fatehpur, or about opposite to Dondia Khera. The old town of Gunir, with its mounds and ruins, exactly answers this position. Or better still perhaps is the old town of *Kutia*, commonly called *Kutia* Khâs, which is about 6 or 7 miles to the east south-east of Gunir, and which seems also to answer fairly well to the Chinese form of the name, *Oyuto*. From this place Hwen Thsang descended the Ganges in a boat with 80 other passengers, for about 100 *li*, or 17 miles, in an easterly direction, which corresponds with the easterly reach of the Ganges between *Kutia* and Dâlmau.[1] Here both banks of the river were thickly clothed with Asoka trees, beneath which a dozen piratical boats were concealed on each shore. Suddenly these boats dashed out into the middle of the stream, and seized the pilgrims' boat. Many of the passengers from sheer fright jumped into the river; the rest were taken ashore and deprived of their property. These pirates, or river *dakoits*,

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, I, p. 116.

are described as worshippers of the goddess *To-kia*, or Durgâ, to whom they offered a human sacrifice annually in the autumn season. After examining all the passengers, they selected the Chinese pilgrim as the most worthy offering for their goddess. " We have already, " they said, " passed the proper time for offering a sacrifice to our goddess for "want of a fit subject; but now we have a monk possessing both tall stature and good looks."

The pilgrim then relates at some length how he fell into a trance and saw the reverend Maitreya (Bodhisatwa) seated on a throne and surrounded by Devas. Suddenly there came a furious storm, which rent the trees, raised whirlwinds of sand, and huge waves which engulphed all the boats in the river. The pirates, struck with fear, released the pilgrim, and prostrated themselves before him, saying—

" in our blindness and ignorance we have committed great crimes. We have now found a holy man whose virtues have caused the heavenly spirits to interpose in his behalf. From this day we swear to renounce our infamous trade, and we wish that the Master should witness our conversion."

Then the pirates collected their arms and threw them into the river, and to every passenger they restored his clothes. Suddenly the winds and waves became calm and the storm ceased; and the *dakoits* filled with joy saluted the Master of the Law, and went their way.

But if the Ganges in the time of Hwen Thsang flowed in the old channel, which I have already described in my account of Newal, then the site of *Oyuto* must be looked for somewhere to the south of the old bed, and not far from Dondia-Khera. The old town of Patân-Bihâr exactly fulfils these conditions. It stands a short distance to the south of the old Ganges, and 16 miles to the north-east of Dondia Khera. Its distance from Newal is however not much more than 75 miles, which is considerably short of the pilgrim's 100 miles; but the windings of the old bed of the Ganges would certainly have prevented a direct route, so that the actual road distance may have been nearly 90 miles. With *Kutia* this difficulty is lessened, as it lies about 80 miles direct from Newal, and about 96 or 100 miles by the road. In favour of Bihâr there is its eminently Buddhist name, and the remains of a square building in the middle of the fort which answers to the monastery of Vasubandhu inside the town. In favour of *Kutia* there is the near accordance of name and distance, and the fact that it is close to the south bank of the actual

Ganges. The relative position of Gunir, at 6 or 7 miles to the north-west, corresponds with the site of the stûpa and monastery of Vasubandhu, which the pilgrim places at 40 li, or nearly 7 miles, to the north-west of *Oyuto*.

XIII.—BAKSAR GHAT.

On leaving Pâtan-Bihâr, I visited *Dondia Khera* and *Baksar Ghât*, both on the Ganges.

Dondia Khera is a dilapidated fort of the Bais Rajputs, perched on a bold projecting point of the river bank. The mound is about 50 feet high at its highest point. There are seven temples, but they are comparatively modern. There are also several brick buildings, but all in a dilapidated state, although none of them appear to be old. The bricks are all small, the sculptures are all modern, and there is nothing now to be seen, save the lofty mound, that would suggest an antiquity of more than a few centuries.

At *Baksar Ghât* is the ferry over the Ganges between Dondia Khera and Gunir. Baksar itself is a very holy place which received its name from a demon named Bakasa or Vakasa, who was killed by Krishna. He is also said to have founded the temple of Nageswar-Nâth in honour of Siva. Several fairs are held at Baksar during the year; but there are two that are more important than the rest, as they are attended by many thousands of people for the sake of bathing in the Ganges at the two auspicious moments of the full and new moon. The former is held on the ***Purnamâsi***, or full moon, of Kârtik. and the latter on the ***Amâvasya***, or new moon, of Mâgh. I was a witness of the latter celebration, when many thousands of people assembled to bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges at the fortunate moment of conjunction of the sun and moon (*amâvasya*). All day long on the 1st February 1878, women and children from all parts of Oudh were passing my tent at Dondia-Khera on their way to Baksar Ghat, to be ready to bathe early the next morning. The men remained behind to work during the day, but started early in the evening to journey all night towards the holy ghat. On the morning of the 2nd I passed many thousands of men, women, and children on my way to Baksar. The women had already begun to bathe at 7 o'clock in the morning; and as I crossed over the Ganges in a boat, the view of the village, perched on a lofty mound, with the whole of the sloping bank covered with thousands of people down to the water's edge, was very picturesque. On

landing I met hundreds of people hastening from Gunir and other places in the Doab to cross over to the bathing place.

But Baksar Ghat has an interest for Englishmen of a very different kind. It was here that a small party of Englishmen escaping from Cawnpore in a single boat were obliged to land owing to the boat grounding. The Nana's horsemen kept pace with the boat, and, on arrival at Baksar, they were joined by a large number of the followers of Babu Ram Baksh, headed by the Babu's brother. The Babu was the chief landlord of Dondia Khera. After some firing, in which the Babu's brother was shot through the head, and some ten or twelve of his followers killed, the party of Englishmen took refuge in a temple, from which they were smoked out. Four who could swim jumped into the river and escaped to a place 3 *kos*, or 6 miles, lower down, where they were taken by some followers of Dig-Bijay Singh, the Bais Chief of Murârmau. He at once released them, and treated them kindly. The people say that the party of Englishmen was eleven in number when they landed, and "everybody knows that five were killed at Baksar Ghat." But as five killed *plus* four escaped make only nine, there are two of the party not accounted for in this native story. The Babu of Dondia Khera afterwards fled to Benares, where he was captured in disguise. He was taken back to Baksar Ghat and hanged on a tree close to the temple, after which the temple itself was blown up with gunpowder, so that only a few bricks now remain to mark the spot where the last act of the Cawnpore tragedy took place.

Such is the account which I received from natives on the spot, and which I wrote down at the time. It is interesting to compare this account with that of Major Delafosse, one of the four survivors. The native account is undoubtedly correct, its chief points of variance being in the numbers. The following is Major Delafosse's statement :—

"We got down to the river and into the boats without being molested in the least; but no sooner were we in the boats and had laid down our muskets, and had taken off our coats, to work easier at the boats, than the cavalry (our escort) gave the order to fire. Two guns that had been hidden were run out and opened upon us immediately, while sepoys came from all directions and kept up a brisk fire.

"The men jumped out of the boats, and instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. Only three boats got safe over to the opposite side of the river, but they were met there by two field pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. Before these boats had got a mile

down the stream, half our party were either killed or wounded, and two of our boats had been swamped. We had now only one boat crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. The two guns followed us the whole day, the infantry firing on us the whole of that night.

"On the second day a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, and opened on us at Najafgarh, the infantry still following us on both sides. On the morning of the third day the boat was no longer serviceable. We were aground on a sand-bank, and had not strength sufficient to move her. Directly many of us got into the water, we were fired upon by thirty or forty men at a time. There was nothing left but to charge and drive them away, so fourteen of us were told to go and do what we could. Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired; but having followed them up too far, we were cut off from the river, and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded. We could not make for the river, but had to go down parallel, and came at the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank, should we attempt to cross the river. On the bank of the river, just by the force in front, was a temple. We fired a volley and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, one man being killed and one wounded. From the door of the temple we fired on every insurgent who showed himself. Finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all around and set it on fire.

"When we could no longer remain inside, on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off the clothes we had, and each taking a musket, charged through the fire. Seven of us, out of twelve, got into the water; but before we had gone far, two poor fellows were shot. There were only five left now, and we had to swim, while the insurgents followed us along both banks wading, and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about 3 miles down the stream, one of our party, an artillery man, to rest himself began swimming on his back, and not knowing in what direction he was swimming, got on shore, and was killed. When we had gone about 6 miles, firing on both sides ceased; and soon after we were hailed by some natives on the Oudh side, who asked us to come on shore, and said that they would take us to their râja, who was friendly to the English. We gave ourselves up, and were taken 6 miles inland to the râja, who treated us very kindly, giving us clothes and food.

"We stayed with him for about a month, as he would not let us leave, saying the roads were unsafe. At last he sent us off on the 29th of July, to the right bank of the river, to a zemindar of a village, who got us a hackery."[1]

XIV.—DALMAU

The old fort of Dâlmau is situated on a bluff point, about 100 feet high, overhanging the Ganges. Inside there is a

[1] Oudh Gazetteer, vol. I, pp. 207-208.

ruined masjid of Shâh Jahan's time, and a bâradari, or summer-house, from which a bucket can be lowered down to the Ganges. The outer wall has lately fallen into the river. There are some old carved stones, pieces of pillars, and architraves in the masjid and also in the gateway of the fort. Some of them, from their beehive-shaped bosses, are probably as old as the time of the Guptas. There are also fragments of pillars and sculptures in many places under trees. At Makanpur, 1 mile to the south-east, there is a tomb called *Sharki Shah*. It is raised on a terrace like those at Jaunpur, and is probably the tomb of *Muhammad Shâh Sharki*, who was killed near this place in A.H. 863, or A.D. 1459.

On an isolated mound named *Dachen*, a short distance to the north-west of the town, there are the remains of a tomb built entirely of Hindu materials. There are eight round pillars, each in two or three pieces, with most of the ornaments cut off. The place is said to have belonged to the two famous, and rather ubiquitous, heroes Alha and Udal.

The legend of Dâlmau refers the foundation of the fort to Râja Dâl. There were two brothers, Dâl and Bâl, Ahirs, who were in the habit of drinking too much wine, more especially in the month of Phâlgun. One of the Sharki kings of Jaunpur, said by some to be Muhammad Shâh, accordingly attacked the fort in that month, when the two brothers were drunk, and killed both of them. Then the wives of Dâl and Bâl prayed that the fort might be turned upside down. At once the fort was overturned, and the two women then killed the Sharki king, whose tomb is at Makanpur. In the month of Bhâdon an annual fair is held at Pakhraoli, 3 miles to the south-east, near a large *jhil*, when Dâl and Bâl are both worshipped.

There is another version of this legend which makes *Dâl* a *Bhar* chief, and refers the capture of the fort to Ibrahim Sharki; but it is the *Ahirs* who are said to make offerings of milk at the tomb of Dâl in the month Srâvan. The *Bharonia* division of the Ahirs also refer the custom of their women not wearing nose-rings and glass bracelets to the commemoration of this invasion of their country. From this it would appear that the Bhars were only a sub-division of the great tribe of *Ahirs*.

In both of these versions of the legend Dâl is made a contemporary of the Sharki kings, but we know from the Muhammadan histories that the place had borne the name of Dâlmau certainly many years earlier, as it is mentioned in the

times of Firoz Tughlak and was most probably in existence as early as the time of Mâhmud of Ghazni, as the tombs of several *Shahids*, or martyrs, are pointed out, who were the companions of Sayid Sâlâr.

But the fame of these Muhammadan brothers has been comparatively eclipsed in later times by that of the Hindu Bairâgi, Bâba Lâlan Dâs, who lived in the *mahalla*, or ward, of Sanjatpur. He was esteemed so holy that many Muhammadans used to visit him, and it is said that even the Nawâb of Lucknow, when he was at Dâlmau, went to have an interview with the Hindu saint. As he approached and saw the saint lying on a bed, he thought to himself, "Is this the *Sânt* ('the calm or tranquil,' that is, the saint), who is lying there like a dog?" As he drew nearer, the Bâba addressed him in these words:

Surat janjir gare men pari tehi lág mazbutá hun;
Juthan khát aghát pet bhar parc palung par sutá hun;
Házar rahán hazur rendin Har Lálan Dás ka kuta-hun.

These verses are almost literally rendered in the following lines :—

"The chain of God around my neck
Doth me securely keep,
I eat the crumbs of charity,
And on a bed I sleep;
Thus in His presence night and day,
I am the Almighty's dog alway."

The Nawâb then asked for some verse that should be favourable to him; when the Bâba replied, using a coarse expression referring to women, "as you always stay in your palace, dancing and singing like women, so will your throne ever be as weak as a woman."

The following popular rhyme is worth mentioning, as it shows the greater extent and consequent prosperity of Dâlmau in earlier times :—

"*Utr-disam Makhdum Jahániyam, purbe kot khalâsi hai,*
Mandhapurá, Miyanka-tolá, Chauhatta, avinási hai,
Bahut dina chaurási bhramen Sanjátpur Kási hai."

Makhdum Jahâniya's in the north,
Kot Khlâsi in the east,
Mandhpura, Miyan-ka-tola, and
Chauhatta still exist.
Go where you will, Sanjâtpur still,
Like Kâsi, is the best.

XV.—SINGROR.

The old tomb of *Singror*, or *Sringi-vira-pura*, stands on a bluff headland on the north bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to the north-west of Allahabad. Its name is said to be derived from *Sringi-vira Rishi*, whose shrine stands on an isolated mound on the extreme west point of the position. It is called the *sthân* of Sringhi Rishi, but it is a comparatively modern vaulted room of brick, before which a few fragments of sculpture are collected. Inside there is a group of Hara-Gauri and a small figure of the Sun in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses. Only the northern or inland position of the mound is now occupied by houses. On the highest point, which is about 50 feet, there is a *Chabutra*, or terrace, overlooking the bed of the Ganges; and, on another high point to the north-west of the last, there is a masjid, with the small tomb of Muhammad Madâri inside its courtyard. Here there are two Hindu pillars. The whole mound is a mass of bricks, chiefly of large size, 16 to 18 inches long by 11 inches broad. Singror is said to have been a very large place in former days, but the Ganges first undermined its southern face, and swept away a large portion of the town, leaving a precipitous cliff some 90 feet in height. Since then the river has deserted the place, and only a small branch now passes under Singror, in the wide channel where the whole stream of the Ganges once swept along.

Singror is famous as the scene of the last act in the great rebellion of Khân Zamân and his brother Bahâdur against Akbar. His original name was Ali Kuli Khan, and he received the title of Khân Zamân from Akbar in reward for defeating the gallant Hindu General Himu on the field of Pânipat. After several unsuccessful acts of rebellion and repeated pardons, he at last joined the standard of Mirza Muhammad Hâkim, Akbar's rebellious brother, and read the Khutbah in his name at Jaunpur. Akbar's patience was now exhausted, and he resolved to pardon no more. On his arrival at Sakît, near Agra, "Akbar heard that Khân Zamân had fled from Shergarh (near Kanauj) to Mânikpur, to join his brother Bâhâdur; and marching thence down the Ganges had bridged the river near the frontier of *Singror*."[1] The position of this bridge must have been immediately opposite

[1] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 320. Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, edited by Dowson, Chap. V, p. 320. From the Tabakât-i-Akbari.

Ujjaini, 4 miles to the south of Singror, which is the only good ghât in this neighbourhood, even at the present day. On reaching Râi Bareli, Akbar marched direct to Mânikpur, and with upwards of one thousand men crossed the Ganges to the right bank, where he passed the night near Khân Zamân's camp. Early next morning with some reinforcements he attacked Khân Zamân. "Bâhâdur was captured, and brought to Akbar, and he had scarcely been despatched when Khân Zâmân's head was brought in. The fight is said to have taken place at Mankarwâl (or Sakrâwal), which place has since been called Fathpur." This is probably the present village of Faιehpur, 7 miles to the south-east of Karâ.

At Singror I obtained a considerable number of coins, amongst which I recognised 21 old Hindu coins, only one Indo-Scythian of Huvishka, and 106 Muhammadan. The Hindu coins comprised all the oldest types, with the exception of the punch-marked pieces. The money of the earlier Musalmân kings was especially plentiful.

Half a mile to the north of the town there is a large mound 18 feet high called Surya Bhita, or "mound of the Sun." It is 50 feet broad at top, and 150 feet at base, and is thickly strewn with broken bricks. I suppose it may have been the site of a temple to the Sun.

XVI.—TUSARAN-BIHÂR.

The old town of Bihar in the district of Bela, or Partâbgarh, was one of the most important places in Oudh. Under the early Muhammadan kings it was the head-quarters of a large district,[1] and even now it is known by the name of Suba-Bihâr. The town is situated on the northern bank of an old bed of the Ganges, down which the flood waters of the river still find their way in the rains. It stands on a mound rising to 20 feet in its highest parts. There is a little fort at the south-west angle, near which is a small brick temple containing a very curious group of figures, which apparently belongs to the period of Indo-Scythian rule. To the south-east of the town, and on the northern bank of the old river bed, there is a very extensive mound of brick ruins about half a mile in length, with a detached mound at the east end called *Tusâran*, and sometimes *Susâran*. In the large

[1] Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, IV, 29. The names of places in Oudh mentioned in succession are Oudh, Shadidah (or Sândila), Dalmau, Bahraich, Bihâr. These were seized by Khwaja Jahan in A.H. 796, or A.D. 1394.

revenue maps the name is spelt *Tusâwan*; but this certainly is a mistake. Nothing is known as to the origin of the name; but one may venture to guess that it may have been *Tushâra-ârâma*, or the "*Tushâra* monastery," that is, the monastery built by the king of the *Tushâras*. At the western end, marked B in the map, this mound rises high and almost hemispherical in shape. Here I made an excavation, in which were found bricks 15½ by 10¼ by 3 inches; but as the site was covered with Muhammadan graves, I was reluctantly obliged to stop the work, after finding some large bricks, with rounded faces like the bars of a Buddhist railing. I believe it to have been the remains of a large temple, as there was a slight depression on the eastern side, which would have been the entrance of the temple.[1]

The middle portion of the great mound, marked C in the map, is generally higher than the western half; and here accordingly the Surveyors had placed one of their survey towers. On this mound I made an excavation at one of the highest points on the southern side; but the walls, which looked promising at first, turned out to be of uncertain date, and were most likely only the remains of dwelling-houses.

But, in spite of my failure to discover any remains of ancient buildings, there can be no doubt whatever that the Tusâran mound is the site of an old Buddhist establishment. The very name of Bihâr is peculiarly and exclusively Buddhist. It is also known by the name of *Süa Bihâr*, or the "red monastery," an appellation which was common to Buddhist monasteries. There is nothing Buddhist about the old group of figures in the temple; but outside the temple there were formerly two small stûpas in stone, which were known to the people as *Buddha* and *Buddhi*. These names, no doubt, were given to the stones when their Buddhist origin was still known. They were both removed to the public garden at Bela (or Partâbgarh); but one has since been placed in the Faizabad Museum, where I saw it in 1876.

The group of figures in the temple is generally known by the name of *Asht-bhuji*, or the "eight-armed." This is a common name of the goddess Durgâ, and is no doubt well known to the people. But it cannot have been the original name of the group, as there were certainly seven figures, and I think that I can trace an eighth figure.

The base of the sculptured block is 3 feet 4 inches in front, by 1 foot 4 inches at the side. As the heads of the figures

[1] See Plate XIX

are all gone, the height is doubtful, but I estimated it at about 4½ feet. The stone is the common dark-red sandstone of the Sikri quarries, with light-buff spots; and I infer, therefore, that the sculpture was most probably executed at Mathura. The oblong shape of the block, with its two groups back to back, and the presence of leaves falling over the shoulder of the right male figure, all seem to point out that this sculpture was perhaps a kind of altar supporting a bowl, similar to the two altars which have already been found at Mathura. The general arrangement also is much the same; but the costume of the figures is very different. In the Mathura groups the females wear short loose jackets, like the smaller Greek *Khiton*. In the Bihâr group the females are naked to the waist, and wear broad zones of several strings round the loins, like those in the Bharhut sculptures, but more in accordance with the Sânchi sculptures, as they appear otherwise to be quite naked. I conclude, therefore, that the Bihâr group is of later date than the two Mathura groups. The latter I would assign to the period of Greek rule, somewhere between 150 and 100 B.C.; the former to the time of the Indo-Scythians during the first century, A.D. I limit the date to the period of Indo-Scythian rule, because the peculiar zone worn by the women in the Bihâr sculpture is not found in any of the sculptures of the Gupta period.

The most striking feature in this sculpture is the boldness of the design, in which so many figures are gathered together in a single group, without any apparent crowding or interfering with one another.[1] Altogether there would appear to have been eight figures, four males and four females, of whom three were tall figures, two men and one woman, and the others short figures. The group appears to represent some story, but I cannot identify it, chiefly perhaps on account of the broken state of the figures. The mutilation is unfortunately so great, that not a single head is perfect, whilst only two arms remain to give even a faint clue to the action of the story.

Immediately in front there is a tall woman kneeling on her left knee, with her left arm thrown over the shoulders of a short man on the right. Only two fingers of his hand remain. Behind these two stands a tall man, whose right hand, judging from a slight inclination in the back part of the upper arm, probably grasped the woman's right shoulder. Every trace of his left arm is gone. The second tall man stood on the left of the group with his face towards the

[1] See Plate XX for a sketch of this group.

woman; but of him nothing now remains, save the left leg and foot, which appear in the back ground behind the right leg of the woman. Immediately behind the kneeling woman there is a short man, over whose shoulders the woman has thrown her left arm. To the right of the group, and partly hidden by the tall man, stands a short female, who, from the inactive position of her left arm placed across her waist, would appear to be only a spectator. At the back of these figures, and facing to the rear, there are the remains of apparently three short figures, two females and one male, together with the thick trunk of a tree. These figures do not seem to have any connection with the front group. Judging from the trunk of the tree and the leafy branch which still hangs over the left shoulder of the tall man, I think it is almost certain that these groups may have formed the support of a bowl, or altar, similar to the two altars which have been found at Mathura. In both of these the figures are placed back to back on an oblong pedestal, and under the leafy boughs of a tree that apparently support a bowl above them, which forms the top of the sculpture.

The only trace of Buddhism that I have been able to detect—is the well-defined mark of the dress of the tall male figure across his right breast, which shows that his robe passed under the arm and left the right shoulder bare. Both of the men in front are apparently dressed in long trowsers, which certainly formed no part either of the Greek or of the Indian costume. The Indo-Scythians, however, did wear trowsers, as we see them so represented on their coins as well as on their sculptures. Altogether, therefore, I think that the weight of evidence is decidedly in favour of assigning this group to the period of Indo-Scythian rule. somewhere about A.D. 100.

Amongst the details of the sculpture I may notice that the tall male figure has a scarf round the waist, and an ornamental girdle round the loins. The scarf seems to be tucked inside the waist belt of his trowsers. The small male figure seems to be dressed in exactly the same fashion, with the addition of a long necklace and earrings. On the female figures I can see no trace of any clothing whatever. Both have zones of several strings round the loins, with numerous bracelets covering the whole of the lower arm, and huge anclets. The hair of the tall female was massed at the back of her head and ornamented with strings of pearls or other jewels, of which distinct traces still remain She also wore armlets.

The back group was difficult to examine, as it was close to the back of the temple, and therefore badly lighted. It was found impossible to turn the group round on account of a huge tenon under the pedestal, 1 foot 4 inches in breadth, which was firmly secured below.

The other remains at Bihâr are few and unimportant. In the tomb of Shahîd Mardan, the door-sill is formed of the architrave, or upper member of the door of a Hindu temple. It is very richly carved, but of small dimensions, being only 3 feet 4 inches in length.

I obtained only a few coins at Bihâr, but they were chiefly of old Hindu and Indo-Scythian types. The coins of the Indo-Scythians are found at Allahabad and Benares, and even as low down as Ghâzipur. A large find was also made on the line of railway between Allahabad and Jabalpur. From these discoveries, and more especially from the presence of this curious group of sculpture at Tusâran Bihâr, I am strongly inclined to believe that the rule of the Indo-Scythians had been extended as far to the east as the junction of the Ganges and Jumna. Their coins are found in some numbers in every old town in Eastern Oudh, as far as the banks of the Gandak river.

It has been the fashion to refer all the remains of antiquity in Eastern Oudh to the barbarous race of aboriginal Bhars. Thus I find that the two Buddhist stûpas, which formerly stood outside the *Ashta-bhuji* temple at Bihâr, have been actually assigned to this race by the writer of the notice of Bihâr in the *Oudh Gazetteer.*[1] The following is his account of these stûpas :—

"About two years ago were found at Bihâr a pair of very old and curiously carved stones, which, from the character of the figures represented, I have no doubt are Bhar relics. They are believed to be so by the inhabitants, and the following account of the stones (which go by the name of Buddha Buddhi) is current among them. Bihâr Khâs was originally inhabited by the Bhars; Fort Sansâran, remains of which still exist on the east of Bihâr, was their stronghold. Within the fort was a temple which contained idols worshipped by the Bhârs. During the reign of Râjâ Pithaura, the latter sent a force under the command of one Bâl Singh, a Bais, and ancestor of the present Bais Zamindar of Bihar, to attack the Bhars. A pitched battle ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Bhars and the destruction of their fort. Bâl Singh caused the temple, containing amongst other idols two much larger than the rest called Buddha and Buddhi, to be thrown into the lake which lies on the south-east of Bihâr. After the victory, Râja Pithaura rewarded Bâl Singh with a

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 306.

zemindari grant of twenty-two villages in the neighbourhood, and Bâl Singh came and resided in the town of Bihâr. The Bais, his descendants, erected a temple on the south of the town close to a pipal tree. In this temple they replaced the stones 'Buddha' and 'Buddhi.' The temple near the entrance of the fort is of older origin, and is held to have been built by the Bhars. It had for many years been in a state of decay, but forty years ago one Dâtâ Râm, a Kashmiri Pandit, on appointment as tahsildar, rebuilt it. From the Bais temple he removed the stones and placed them at the door of the more ancient shrine, near which they were found in 1868."

I have already mentioned the probability that Tusâran Bihar may be the *Hayamukha*, or *Ayumukha*, of Hwen Thsang, according to the account given in the Life of the pilgrim. On leaving Ayuto he first made 100 *li*, or nearly 17 miles, by boat down the Ganges to the east, to a point overshadowed by Asoka trees, where he and his companions were attacked by river dacoits. From that place he travelled 300 *li*, or 50 miles, also to the east by land, and crossing to the north of the Ganges, reached *O-ye-mu-kia*, or Ayamukha, as M. Julien transcribes it.[1] In the account of the pilgrim's Travels, there is no mention of the trip on the Ganges, and the whole distance is stated to be 300 *li*, or 50 miles, to the east. In this account M. Julien transcribes the name as *Hayamukha*.[2] The town is said to be on the bank of the Ganges (*King-kia*), which M. Vivien de Saint Martin has supposed to be only a generic name for the Ghâghra river. He has been led to make this guess by his identification of *A-yu-to* with Ayodhya.[3] But I have long ago shown that Ajudhya is described under the name of Vaisâkha; while the south-east bearing from *Navadevakula* points unmistakeably to the banks of the Ganges, which is in fact actually called by its proper name *King-kia*.

The people of *O-ye-mu-kia* have been identifid by Benfey with the *Ayumukhiyas* mentioned by the scholiast Pânini, and with the *Ayumukha* found in the Harivansa. The last name would indeed appear to be the true transcription of the Chinese syllables. The district was about 2,000 *li*, or 400 miles in circuit; and the town itself had a circumference of 200 *li*, or upwards of 3 miles. There were about 1,000 Buddhist monks who belonged to the school of the Sammatiyas, and a dozen temples of the Brahmanical gods.

At a short distance to the south-east of the town, and near the bank of the Ganges, there was a stûpa of Asoka, 200 feet

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, I, 120. [2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 274.
[3] Note by Vivien de St. Martin in Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 268.

in height, built on the spot where Buddha had taught for three months. Near the stûpa there were the thrones of the four Buddhas and the places where they walked for exercise. There was also a stûpa of blue-stone containing some of the hair and nail-parings of Buddha. Close by there was a monastery of 200 monks, with a statue of Buddha very richly ornamented. Here the learned Buddha-dâsa composed his treatise, named Maha Vibhâsha Sâstra, on the Hinayâna, or "lesser means of advancement."

In this account it will be noticed that all the Buddhist buildings are placed to the south-east of the town, which is the very position which the great mound of ruins bears with reference to the town of Bihâr. The distance also from Dâlmau is exactly 50 miles, or 300 *li*. There is, however, a very great discrepancy in the next distance of 700 *li*, or 115 miles, to *Po-lo-ye-kia*, or *Prayâga*, the modern Allahabad. This discrepancy I have discussed in another place,[1] where I have shown that the sum of all Hwen Thsang's distances between Kanauj and Allahabad is very much in excess of the truth. According to the numbers given in the Life of the pilgrim, the whole distance is 1,800 *li*, or 300 miles; while in the Travels it is only 1,700 *li*, or 283 miles. But the true distance by the high road is only 193 miles; so that there is an excess of from 90 to 107 miles. But as Hwen Thsang three times crossed the Ganges in this journey, the distance actually travelled may have been somewhat greater, or say not less than 210 miles. This would be equal to 1,260 *li*, or just 540 *li*, or 90 miles less than the 1,800 *li* given in the Life. In my previous dicussion on this subject I was inclined to deduct this excess from the first portion of the journey; but since I have gone over the country between Allahabad and Bângarmau, I have come to the conclusion that the excess must be in the latter part of the journey in the recorded distance of 700 *li*, between *Ayumukha* and *Prayâga*; by deducting 540 *li*, or 90 miles, from this amount, we get 160 *li*, or 25 miles, as the true distance between these places. This number I would increase to 170 *li*, or 28 miles, so as to preserve the number 7 of the 700 given in the text. As this is the exact distance between Bihâr and Allahabad, there is some strong evidence in favour of the identification of Bihâr with the Ayumukha of Hwen Thsang.

If, however, it should be found that the Ganges could not have flowed past Bihâr at so late a period as A.D. 636, then I would propose Singror as the most probable representative of

Ayumukha. This place stands on the very brink of the high bank of the Ganges; its mounds also are more extensive and more lofty than those of Bihâr, and it has all the appearance of having once been a large and flourishing town. It is, however, only 22 miles from Allahabad, and does not possess any remains that can be assigned to the Buddhists, although it is undoubtedly a very old and important site.

XVII.—GAURA.

Two miles and a half to the east of Tusâran Bihâr there is a small village named Gaura, with the ruins of a small but richly-carved temple of the Sun. The walls of the temple were built entirely of brick, but the entrance doorway was of stone. In plan it was a square of 21 feet 8 inches, with a chamber 11 feet square. It was raised on a platform nearly 48 feet square, paved with bricks-on-edge and plastered, the outer walls being faced with blocks of kankar The walls were properly decorated with deep carvings in brick. Many of these were of the ordinary flower and leaf patterns; but there was also a very curious continuous moulding formed of bricks 8½ inches in height, representing a double line of small niches one above the other, with two lines of small dentils only half an inch square. There must also have been a line of figures, as I found the broken statue of a naked man on horseback, and fragments of two other figures. Nothing whatever is known about the temple; and the mound of ruins is simply called *Narâji*, or *Narâjat Bír*.

I made a complete excavation of the temple both inside and outside, which brought to light the sill, the jambs, and the architrave of the doorway. The door-sill bore the usual lions and elephants, but in the middle of the architrave there was a figure of Sûrya seated in a chariot drawn by seven horses. There were also several broken figures, amongst which I recognised Vishnu with his club and discus, and two groups of Hara-Gauri, of which the larger one was 2½ feet in height. I found nothing, however, to show the date of the temple, but I do not think it can be older than the eighth or ninth century. The *Kalas*, or pinnacle, was a star of eight points, each formed of a separate brick with bevelled edges.

XVIII.—TANDWÂ.

I have already described Tandwâ with its large brick stûpa and other ruins.[1] But when I went to Sâket-Mâhet,

[1] Archæological Survey of India, I, 348.

or Srâyasti, early in 1876, I took the opportunity of paying a second visit to Tandwâ. In my previous account I have called the place *Tadwa*, as the people *wrote* the name; but on the present occasion I found that every one when questioned pronounced it with the nasal, as *Taṇdwâ*. The difference is very slight; and as the nasal dot is frequently omitted in writing, I have now adopted the common pronunciation of the people.

In my former report I have identified Tandwâ with the birth-place of Kâsyapa Buddha, which Fa Hian calls *To-wai*. Hwen Thsang does not give its name; but as he states that the place was about 60 *li*, or 10 miles, to the north-west of Srâvasti, there can be little doubt of the correctness of my identification, as Tandwâ is just 9 miles to the west of Sâhet-Mâhet.

The present village is situated amongst brick ruins at a short distance to the north of the road leading from Akaona to Bahraich, and about 4 miles to the west of the former place. "All the fields around are strewn with broken bricks, and within 1,000 feet of the village on the north-west there is a mound of brick ruins 800 feet long from east to west, and 300 feet broad. Beyond the mound, and to the north of the village, there is a large irregularly-shaped sheet of water called *Sitâ-dohâr-tâl*,"[1] a name which cannot be older than the discovery of the supposed statute of *Sitâ-mâi*, which is said to have been found by a Bairâgi little more than 100 years ago. Dohar is a local term for a mound.

In my previous report I described the great mound of ruins as follows :—

"The west end of the mass of ruins is very low, but it is covered with broken walls and fine trees, and was therefore most probably the site of the monastic establishment. The general height of the east end is ·6 feet above the fields, but rises to 26 feet at the south-west corner. At this point the mound is formed of solid brick-work, which after close examination I discovered to be the remains of a large stûpa. As two different measurements gave a diameter of not less than 70 feet, this stûpa must have been one of the largest and most important in the famous province of Uttara Kosala. Hwen Thsang mentions only two stûpas at this place—one to the south of the town, being built on the spot where Kâsyapa Buddha had performed his meditations under a Banyan tree; and the other to the north of the town, containing the complete body of Kâsyapa. This is also confirmed by its size, as Fa Hian calls this stûpa a great one The stûpa on the mound must certainly represent the latter monument,

[1] In my former report this name is erroneously printed as *Sita-Dewa-Tal*.

because the tank precludes the possibility of any other having existed to the northward of it."

At my last visit I spent five days at Tandwâ and made a complete survey of the ruins. I also cleared away the rubbish from the outside of the great stûpa nearly all round, the only part left unseen being covered by the temple of *Sitâ-Mai*. I found the flights of steps on the north and west sides nearly perfect, with the outer wall of the stûpa still standing intact. On the south the steps were much broken, and on the east I was unable to dig, owing to the presence of a huge Banian tree, which stands in the very position which they would have occupied. My survey also revealed a very curious fact, that the four gateways did not occupy the four cardinal points, the northern gate being $17\frac{1}{2}°$ to the east of the magnetic meridian.[1] What was the cause of this variation, I have not yet been able to discover; but I have noticed that most of the temples of the Gupta period have an average variation of about 13° 20,[1] or of one whole Nakshatra, to the east of north.

The position of the great Banian tree exactly on the site of the eastern entrance must be designed and not accidental, and I am disposed to look upon it as the site of the original tree under which Kâsyapa was believed to have obtained Buddhahood, as the Banian was the special Bodhi tree of Kâsyapa. But besides this great tree there are no less than eight other fine Banians on the mound around the stûpa. The positions of all these are marked in the map by figures from 1 to 9.[2] Taking the tree No. 1 as the site where Kâsyapa sat in meditation under his special Bodh tree, I would refer the great stûpa immediately to the west of it to his Nirvâna. As the only other large trees on the mound are two *Jambus*, the presence of so many Banian trees in one spot would seem to point most clearly to its identification with the site of Kâsyapa Buddha's meditation and Nirvâna.

In my previous report I mentioned that the stûpa was "not less than 70 feet" in diameter. This measurement was derived from three different points, where I found the solid brick-work; but on my last visit I was able to make actual measurements of the diameter at the berm level, which I found to be just 74 feet. This was $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the paved courtyard, and 18 feet above the level of the fields. The ruined mound of the stûpa, all of solid brick-work, is still 9 feet

[1] See Plate XXII for a plan of the stûpa. [2] See Plate XXI.

in height above the berm, and 14¼ feet above the floor of the court in which it stands. Some parts of the massive walls of the courtyard are still standing, and the complete size can be traced by the lines of the brick ruin. It was 365 feet in length from north to south, and 160 feet in breadth, with a small outer court at each end, 160 feet by 100 feet.

The lower part of the face of the stûpa was ornamented with a Buddhist railing in brick-work, supported on a line of dentils.[1] These dentils are hollowed out and bevelled at the ends, as shown in figure 10 of the Plate. They appear to me to represent the ends of timber beams, and to be copied from an original wooden construction. The general breadth of the berm was only 3 feet 9 inches, but at the entrances it was widened to 5 feet 6 inches. I examined the berm for traces of a Buddhist railing, but the edge was so much broken that nothing was discovered. It is quite certain, however, that a stone railing once existed, as I found one piece of a rail bar, several fragments of stone coping, and some pieces of what I believe to be part of an architrave or curved beam of a Toran gateway.[2] All these fragments were found in one spot near the northern entrance. The great mass of stone chips collected on this spot told its own tale. Here masons had been employed in cutting away the sculptures of a Buddhist railing, to fit the stones for the plainer requirements of village buildings. Thousands of these fragments were examined, and every piece, with any trace of ornament or letters, was carefully drawn. The following is a description of the principal pieces :—

No. 1.—Head of Buddha, 3½ inches high and 3 inches broad, or half life-size.

No. 2.—Half head of female, with earring 2¼ inches high.

No. 3.—Head and part of body of a large dragon; mouth wide open, from which probably issued a lotus stalk whose undulations divided the face of the stone into panels. The body and tail may have been coiled up spirally like the tails of the crocodiles at the end of a Toran beam.

No. 4—Piece of coping of a Buddhist railing, flowered ornament on top and inscription on face—

Sthahanwa-ârâ (ma).

"the Sthahanwa monastery;"

or, if the last letter be read as *h* instead of *m*, the last word will be *arahanta;* but the first word is of some interest, as it

[1] See Plate XXIII, fig. 1.
[2] See Plate XXIII, fig. 4, for an inscribed piece of coping stone.

seems probable that *Sthahauwa* may be the original form of *Thanwa*, just as *Sthâvira* and *Sthâneswara* are the original forms of *Thero* and Thanesar.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, are other inscribed fragments, all of which I have preserved for the purpose of showing that the great stûpa of Tandwâ must have been as early as the time of Asoka, as the characters on these fragments are the same as those of his inscriptions.[1]

No. 9.—Arm of female with bracelet on wrist.

No. 10.—Stone boss or pinnacle. I believe that this stone was part of the top ornament of an isolated pillar, the topmost piece being a pine-cone or pine-apple, such as have been found in Nâlanda. It bears the letter *k* in a form of later date than Asoka, such as was in use during the time of the Indo-Scythians and earlier Guptas. This would agree with my suggestion that the stone formed part of an isolated pillar, as such a votive offering might have been set up at any time. The letter *k* is probably only a mason's mark, as the initial for the name of Kâsyapa.

No. 11.—Some pierced bricks were found in the same place. They are shown in the plate in a perpendicular position; but I believe that they must have been placed horizontally as part of a continuous band of ornament.

No. 12—Is a sketch of the statue of Sitâ-Mai, which is said to have been found little more than one hundred years ago, when it was set up by a Bairâgi named Ajudhya Dâs, who had established himself under the great Banian tree. The figure is much broken, which I only discovered when it was brought outside the temple for the purpose of being sketched. The statue was also very dirty after a hundred years of anointment with red lead. I therefore got the attendant Brahman to wash it; and while the figure was still wet, I heard a woman in the crowd of spectators say to her neighbour, "Look how Sitâ is weeping at being brought outside the temple." I took no notice of the remark, but made my sketch, and showed it to the people.[2] I heard no other remarks, and the statue was duly enshrined in its old position inside the temple.

This figure is of some value as helping to fix the date of the Buddhist railing attached to the stûpa. It is 3 feet 4 inches in height, and presents a dancing girl resting on her left foot on a prostrate human figure, with her right knee

[1] See Plate XXIII, figs. 4 to 8. [2] See Plate XXIII, fig. 12.

bent. Her left hand rests on her hip, while her right hand is raised above her head grasping the branch of the favourite sâl tree. A parrot is perched on her upper left arm under the sâl branches, which on the left side have broken into flower.

The stone of which this statue is made is the common red sandstone of the Sikri quarries near Mathura; and as the whole of the costume and the attitude and pose of the figure with the crouching man under the feet are similar to those of the Mathura figures, I have little doubt that this statue was carved at Mathura. Everywhere in the north-west I find that the old Buddhist statues are made of the Sikri sandstone, from which it would appear that Mathura must have been the great manufactory for the supply of Buddhist sculpture in Northern India.

The ruined stûpa is now named after this statue as *Sitâdohár*, or "Sitâ's mound," and the large lake close by, which is about a mile in length, is simply known as *Sitâdohârtâl*, or the "Lake of Sita's mound." It is perhaps almost needless to mention that the statue has no connection with Sita, the wife of Rama, but is only a well-known type of Buddhist sculpture, of which so many examples have been found at Mathura.

There is an isolated mound 500 feet to the west of the stûpa, which would appear to be the remains of a small monastery. The traces of the walls show a square of 80 feet, with towers at the four corners. A little further to the west-north-west, at a distance of 3,700 feet from the stûpa, there is a long low mound upwards of 800 feet from north to south and 500 or 600 feet from east to west, which may have been the site of the old town. It now belongs to the recently-established village of *Allah-bakshpur*; but as the land still belongs to Tandwâ, I take the mound to represent the site of the old town that was visited by Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang. It is now called *Bar-ki-bhári*, or "Banain tree mound."

Near the stûpa on the south side there are the remains of several buildings, marked A, B, C, D, E, F, in the map. I made excavations in all of them; but they proved to be only small isolated buildings containing from two to three rooms each, and were most probably private dwellings.

The accounts given by the two Chinese pilgrims of the sacred buildings at Tandwâ agree in all the main points, but they disagree as to the number of stûpas, which Fa Hian

makes to be three, while Hwen Thsang describes only two. As their accounts are short, they may be quoted in detail.

Fa Hian places *To-wai* at 50 *li*, or upwards of 8 miles, to the west of Srâvasti. "This was the original birth-place of Kâsyapa Buddha. Towers are erected on the spot where he had an interview with his father, and also where he entered Nirvâna. A great tower has also been erected over the relics of the entire body of Kâsyapa Tathâgata."[1]

In this account there are *three* different stûpas; but as Hwen Thsang mentions only two stûpas, it seems probable that there may be some mistake in the number given by the elder pilgrim, or that one of his three stûpas had disappeared within two centuries.

According to Hwen Thsang's account,[2] one of the stûpas, to the south of the town, was built on the spot where this Buddha, after having acquired complete intelligence *(Samyak Sambodhi)*, saw his father for the first time."

The second stûpa, to the north of the town, contained the "relics of the entire body of Kâsyapa Buddha." Both of these monuments, he adds, were built by king Asoka.

Both pilgrims agree as to one stûpa having been built over the relics of Kâsyapa; and Fa Hian adds that it was a "great tower." They agree also in part as to the stûpa which was built to commemorate the interview of Kâsyapa with his father; but Hwen Thsang adds that on this spot the Buddha had acquired "the supreme intelligence." Fa Hian's third stûpa is referred to the site where Kâsyapa entered Nirvana. As Hwen Thsang is silent regarding a Nirvana stûpa, I think it very probable that the great relic stûpa which still exists may be also commemorative of his death.

At 300 feet to the east-south-east of the great stûpa, there is a small round-shaped mound, which from its appearance I suspect to be the remains of a second stûpa. This would accordingly represent the scene of Kâsyapa's interview with his father. Here also, according to Hwen Thsang, he sat in meditation and acquired supreme intelligence, or, in other words, became a Buddha.

Both of the pilgrims were informed that Tandwâ was the birth-place of Kâsyapa; but this is at variance with the Indian account, which refers his birth to Benares. Thus in

[1] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XX, p. 83. Remusat, in Laidlay's version, says, "or little town" named Tûwei.

[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 309.

the Pita-Kattaya I find 'Kassapo born at Baranasi-nagara; parents Brahman, Brahmadatta and Dhanawati. His Bo-tree the Nigrodha."[1] In the Mongal scriptures he is said to have been a Brahman of the family of Kâsyapa.[2] His father's name was *Fan-te* (virtue of Brahma); his mother's, *Tsai-chu* (opulent). He dwelt in the city of Benares, and seated beneath a *nyagrodha* he preached the Law. Here the mother's name, Dhanawati, is accurately rendered by "opulent;" but the father's name, *Brahmadatta*, means simply "given by Brahma."

Again, in the Mahâwanso, it is related that in the time of Mahindo, the chief Theri (or priestess) named Sudhammo obtained a branch of the Nigrodha Bodhi tree from king Kiso of Bârânasinagara.[3]

Again, according to the Chinese accounts, *Narakhi*, King of Kâsi, who was devoted to Kasyapa Buddha, "erected over his ashes a stûpa, adorned with the seven precious substances. This stûpa was called *Dasa-vrika*, 'the ten marks,'" and was surmounted by seven encircling discs, placed there by the king and his different relatives. On this account that king is now born as *Yasada*" (that is, in the time of Sakya Muni).[4]

Lastly, in the *Saddharmmaratnakârî* of Ceylon, it is stated that[5]—

"the birth-place of Kâsyapa was Benares; his father, Brahmadatta; his mother, Dhammawati; the period during which he remained a laic, 2,000 years; his queen, Sunandâ; his son, Wijitasena; his period of asceticism, seven days; the cake-giver, Emasuwanda; the grass-giver, Somanassa; and his sacred tree was the *nuga*, or banian. His principal disciples were Tissa and Bhâraddwaja; his attendant, Sarwachitra; and his principal female disciples, Uruwelâ and Urulâ. At this time Gôtama Bodhisat was the Brahman Jôtipâla. His stature was 20 cubits; he had a retinue of 20,000 disciples; and lived in all 20,000 years. After his body was burnt, the bones still remained in their usual position, presenting the appearance of a perfect skeleton; and the whole of the inhabitants of Jambu-dwipa, assembling together, erected a *dagoba* over his relics, one yojana in height."

In these different extracts we find several very curious and interesting particulars regarding the legend of Kâsyapa Buddha. The discrepancy about the birth-place may be explained by the fact that Srâvasti and Tandwâ formed part of

[1] Turnour's Introduction to Mahavanso, p. XXXIV.
[2] Fo-kwe-ki of Remusat, translated by Laidlay, Chap. XX, n. 39.
[3] Turnour's Mahavanso, p. 93.
[4] Beal's Romantic History of Buddha, p. 273.
[5] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 97.

the kingdom of Benares. So also when the branch of the Banian tree was obtained from the king of Benares, it was not from the city of Benares, but from Tandwâ in the kingdom of Benares. This explanation becomes almost certain when we find that the stûpa covering his relics was built by Narakhi, king of Kâsi. About the stûpa itself, we learn that it was named *Daṣavrika*, possessing the "ten auspicious marks or tokens," and was surmounted by seven encircling discs (or umbrellas). The ten auspicious marks are usually called *dasalakshana*, but I am ignorant of the special properties required in a stûpa. Of Kâsyapa, it is said that he was 20 cubits, or 30 feet, in height; that the bones of his body did not separate after cremation, and that his entire skeleton was placed in the stûpa erected by the Râja of Benares. It would be worth while to explore this stûpa for the sole purpose of ascertaining the nature of its deposit. I am the more anxious about the exploration of this stûpa, as it seems almost certain that it must be as old as the time of Asoka, and the existence of inscriptions on the railing which has been destroyed is in favour of the discovery of some inscription inside. There is a small *lingam* on the top of the mound; but as it stands several feet away from the middle of the hemisphere, it might, perhaps, be possible to sink a shaft down the very centre of the stûpa. The mound is a solid mass of brick-work laid in mud mortar. If it contains any relics, I should expect to find them, either at a depth of 9 feet, at the central point of the hemisphere, or at 14½ feet, on the level of the paved platform surrounding the stûpa.

XIX.—SRÂVASTI.

Early in 1876 I paid a visit to Sahet-Mahet, which I had previously identified with the famous city of Srâvasti, for the express purpose of making excavations in the ruins of the Jetavana monastery. At my first visit in January 1863 I had discovered the *Kosamba-kuṭi temple*, which is repeatedly mentioned in the accounts of Buddha's life. Since then I have discovered amongst the Bharhut sculptures a circular bas-relief representing the whole of the Jetavana garden, in which two buildings are labelled with their names as the *Kosamba-kuṭi* and the *Gandha-kuṭi*. On this visit I spent eleven days at Sahet, and made a very careful examination of the whole site. Attached to my first account will be found a map of the city, showing the site of the Jetavana

monastery, and of other ruins.[1] With the present report I now give a map of the Jetavana itself on a large scale, showing the positions of all the ruined buildings which I excavated.[2] The first operation was to clear away as much as possible of the dense jungul, which now covers the whole place. This was of course only partially cleared; but so much was done that I believe no building of any consequence could have escaped my notice. I offered rewards to all the men and boys who were employed as diggers for the discovery of a ruin or a statue amongst the jungul. All the people are afraid to go into the place at night, or even to remain in it after sunset, as it is believed to be haunted by evil spirits, and is therefore generally called *Jogini-bharia*, or the "witches mound." I also cut pathways through the jungul, and pushed my way through it mounted on an elephant, and wherever the trace of a wall was seen, the jungul was cleared for some distance around it, so that I am pretty confident that nothing that was visible above ground could have escaped my notice.

Jetavana was originally only "the wood, or orchard, of Jeta;" but, after its purchase by the rich merchant Anâthapiṇdikạ, it became one of the most celebrated places in India. The story of its purchase is one of the most curious remains of Buddhist legend that we possess. Anáthapiṇḍika having invited Buddha to Sravasti, or Sewet, sought for a suitable site to build a Vihar for his reception. This he found in the Jetavana; but the prince not wishing to part with it said in jest, "If you cover the whole ground with gold coins (*masurans*), you may have it." The merchant accepted the terms with joy, and prince Jeta was obliged to adhere to his word.[3] All the commoner trees were first cut down, but the sandal and mango trees were allowed to remain. The merchant then directed his treasurer to cover the whole surface of the ground with *masurans*. "The treasurer accordingly emptied seven stores," says the chronicler, "and measured the golden *masurans* as if they had been grain." Anâtha next ordered his servants to measure the space occupied by the standing trees, that he might add the amount required to cover it to the purchase money. But prince Jeta then declâred that he was satisfied, as he wished to become a partaker in the merit of providing a place of residence for

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, Plate L.
[2] See Plate XXIV.
[3] See Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 218-219.

Buddha. The purchase money amounted to 18 *koṭis* of *masurans* (180 millions of gold coins), and an equal was spent by the merchant on the erection of the Vihâr. Anâtha "poured water upon the hands of Buddha," in token that he dedicated the Vihâr to the priesthood of the four quarters.[1] From another source we learn that the vessel used for pouring water was a "golden ewer."

The whole of this curious story is represented most faithfully in one of the Bharhut bas-reliefs :—[2]

"In the foreground there is a bullock-cart, with the bullocks unyoked sitting beside it, and with the yoke tilted up in the air, to show that the cart has been unloaded. In front are two men, each holding a very small object between his thumb and forefinger. These two I take to be Anâthapiṇḍika himself, and his treasurer counting out the gold pieces brought in the cart. Above them are two other figures seated, and busily engaged in covering the surface of the garden with the gold coins, which are here represented as square pieces touching one another. If these squares were intended for a pavement of any kind, they would have broken bond, instead of which they are laid out just like the squares of a chess-board. From this arrangement I infer without hesitation that they are intended for the gold coins with which Anâthapiṇḍika engaged to cover the whole area of the garden as the price of its purchase. To the left are six other figures, whom I take to be prince Jeta and his friends; and in the very middle of the composition, there is Anâthapiṇḍika himself carrying a vessel just like a tea-kettle in both hands as a pledge of the completion of his gift."

In addition to the scenes just described, there are also represented two buildings, which are respectively labelled *Gandha-kuṭi* and *Kosamba-kuṭi*, besides a holy tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing, and three other trees, which are no doubt intended to represent the sandal and mango trees that were left standing.

On the left hand, prince Jeta is standing *astonished* at the completion of the payment, which he had thought to be an impossible feat. . "My garden," thought he, "is á thousand cubits in length and breadth; no one has wealth enough to be able to cover it with gold; it is therefore yet mine."[3] The peculiar action denoting complete astonishment is the placing of the finger and thumb in the mouth, which is the very action represented in the sculpture. In the Bharhut bas-relief there are several other instances of the same action.[4] This

[1] See Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 218-219.
[2] "The Stûpa of Bharhut," Plate XXVIII, fig. 3.
[3] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 218.
[4] See Stûpa of Bharhut, Plate XVII, lower compartment, and Plate XXX, fig 3.

curious custom is still very common in India, especially amongst the women. It would seem also to have been the usual way of showing astonishment amongst other races. Thus it is related that "when Jalâlud-din of Khwarazm plunged his horse into the Indus to swim across, Changiz Khan *placed his hand in his mouth* in sign of astonishment."[1] The historian of Firoz Tughlak also relates that on the Emperor's advance against Ekdâla, "the Bengalis from *fear* put their fingers into their mouths." But the most remarkable case is one that is recorded in Shah Jahân's time. One morning the emperor on entering his harem rather early found one of his Begams, who had only just awoke, sitting on a *morha*, with her hair all hanging down, and her dress draggling on the floor. At the sudden appearance of the emperor, the Begam at once *placed her fingers in her mouth in astonishment*, while Shah Jahan passed on to the Darbar without saying a word. As soon as he was seated, he addressed the court poets with the words, "*Nimê darûn, nimê barûn*," or "half in, half out," and desired them to complete a verse explaining the meaning of the words. All the poets were puzzled; but one at last hit upon the following, which was accepted by the emperor:—

Az haibatê Shâhê Jahán
Larzad zamin o âsmân
Angusht herat dar dahân
Nime darûn nimê barûn.

"Seeing the dignity of the 'Lord of the world' (Shah Jahân), the whole universe quaked, and placed the finger of surprise in the mouth, half in and half out."

The verse is very neatly turned, and amongst the courtly flatterers of Delhi was much admired, while the poet received the reward due to his happy ingenuity.

Hwen Thsang places the Jetavana at 5 or 6 *li*, or nearly 1 mile, to the south of the city. But in his time the city was "in ruins and deserted, and its extent was not known."[2] I conclude that he took his distance of 1 mile from the remains of the king's palace. Fa Hian makes the distance only 1,200 paces, or about half a mile, which agrees exactly with the actual position of the city gate, which is distinctly marked by a very deep depression in the line of rampart. There is no doubt, however, about the identification of the

[1] Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, II, 389.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 293: "la capitale est deserte et ruinee; etendue qu' elle avait n' est point consignee dans l'histoire."

Jetavana, as it is the only ruin of any extent, and moreover contains the Kosamba-kuti temple, which we know was inside its walls. The enclosure is still very clearly marked by a broad mass of ruins rising from 12 to 15 feet above the ground outside, while the interior has a general elevation of 6 to 9 feet. The mass of ruin consists of two distinct portions, which may be called the northern and southern. All the walls and buildings in the former are laid out north to south; but in the latter, only the buildings are so disposed, as the eastern and western surrounding walls of the enclosure have a variation of 20° to the east of north. I have already noticed the deviation from the magnetic meridian of 17° east in the old Tandwâ Stûpa; and I am inclined to believe that this deviation is a sure token of antiquity. I am therefore disposed to look upon the southern portion of the enclosure as the original garden of the Jetavana, to which the northern portion was added by prince Jeta himself. In this northern portion I include No. 1 temple and its surrounding monastery, the walls of which are laid out in the direction of the cardinal points. In the southern portion I include all the remaining buildings except No. 8, which stands on the lower terrace of No. 1.

According to Fa Hian, the great garden enclosure of the Vihâra of Jetavana had two gates, one towards the east, the other towards the north. These openings are distinctly marked even at the present day, and I have accordingly laid them both down in my map of the ruins.

The only notice that I can find regarding the size of the Jetavana is the statement of prince Jeta, that his garden was 1,000 cubits long and 1,000 cubits broad, or 4,000 cubits in circuit. My survey makes it only about 4,500 feet; but it is probable that some portion of the ground outside the present ruins was enclosed as a wood or garden for daily exercise. The whole circuit, therefore, may easily have been increased to 6,000 feet, or 4,000 cubits.

I made excavations in twenty distinct mounds of ruin, of which ten turned out to be temples, and five stûpas, while the remaining five were either dwelling-houses or mounds of rubbish previously dug up for bricks. I have affixed a number to each of these ruins in the plan from 1 to 18, and I will now describe them, first drawing attention to the fact that Nos. 1, 2, 25, 16, 3, are all in the same meridian line.

No. 1 is the largest mound in the Jetavana. The ruined temple stands on the uppermost of three platforms, each rising 8 feet, and making a total height of about 25 feet for

the floor of the temple. The lowermost platform is 350 feet square, and is occupied by only one building, No. 8, which will be described presently. The middle terrace is 200 feet square, and is occupied by the remains of an extensive monastery, of which I traced several of the rooms. These rooms were unusually large, being each 11 feet 8 inches by 11 feet 4 inches. On the southern prolongation of the eastern wall of the temple there was a passage through the walls of the monastery leading directly down to No. 2 temple. The monastery was 131 feet square. On the uppermost terrace, which was about 80 feet square, stood the temple, with its doorway facing the east. The building consisted of two parts: a large hall, or assembly-room, for reading the Buddhist scriptures; and a smaller room, or cell, with a pedestal for the enshrined image. I could not find even a fragment of the statue, but there is immediately in front of the pedestal a shallow hollow, 18 inches square, which I believe once contained a slab, with impressions of Buddha's feet, such as I found *in situ* in the *Kosamba-kuti* temple, No. 3. In front of each corner of the pedestal there is a deep hole 6 inches square, in which no doubt a pillar formerly stood to support a canopy over the head of the statue. At the inner angles of the passage leading into the cell there are also square holes, which I suppose once held the wooden uprights of the door-frames. The temple itself is built entirely of brick.

The *mandapa*, or assembly-hall, is a large square room, 24 feet 9 inches by 23 feet 9 inches, with four pillars in the middle to support the roof. It has three entrances on the north, east, and south, and a fourth doorway on the west side, leading into the sanctum. The walls are 4 feet thick, with a projection in the middle of each face for the doorway. The passage leading into the shrine is 5 feet 8 inches in length, the cell itself being 8 feet 10 inches by 8 feet 3 inches. Outside there is a projection in the middle of each wall, with four retirements on each side. As the walls of all the other temples have only one projection on each side, I am inclined to look upon this departure from the usual plan as a sign of a later date. The basement of the stûpa (No. 5) is the only other building in the Jetavana that has two projections on each side of the middle. I think, therefore, that both No. 1 temple and the stûpa may be of later age than the other buildings. I noticed that the hall and the sanctum must have been built at different times, as there is a distinct line of junction between the two, where the

bricks cease to form bond.[1] The plan shows all the minor details; and I need only add that in the entrance to the passage I found a mass of charcoal, which led me to suppose that the wooden door might have been burned down. The outside dimensions of this building are 49 feet 10 inches by 29 feet 10 inches.

No. 2 temple is similar in general arrangement to No 1. It has the same assembly-hall, with its entrance on the east, and four pillars in the middle for the support of the roof. The room is rather smaller in size, being 21 feet 6 inches from north to south, and 20 feet 9 inches in breadth. The sanctum is entered by a passage of 7 feet 9 inches in length. The interior is 9 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 4 inches. More than half of it is taken up by a brick platform, or pedestal, 5 feet 2½ inches in breadth, which extends the whole length of the cell. Judging from the great size of the pedestal and the massiveness of the walls, which are 5 feet 10 inches thick, I conclude that the temple must have contained a statue of very large size. From several concurring points of evidence, also, I am led to suppose that it may be the famous *Gandha-kuṭi*, which contained the great sandal-wood statue of Buddha. In the smaller temple No. 3 I found a colossal stone statue of Buddha bearing an inscription of the Indo-Scythian period, in which the *Kosamba-kuṭi* is mentioned. As this temple faces the east, the view of the Jetavana, given in the Bharhut bas-relief, must be taken from the east side, and we thus learn that the *Gandha-kuṭi* also faced the east, and that it was to the north of the *Kosamba-kuṭi* (No. 3). A reference to the map will show that No. 2 is the only temple that answers to this description. The plan of the temple is given in the Plate XXVI, with a sketch of the *Gandha-kuṭi* beside it taken from the Bharhut bas-relief. The ruin now existing is not the remains of the old temple shown in the sculpture, which is apparently a wooden structure. And such the *Gandha-kuṭi* most probably was, as Fa Hian relates that it was burnt down. It then consisted of seven storeys, and was decked with flags and silken canopies—"whilst the lamps shone out day after day with unfading splendour. Unfortunately a rat gnawing at the wick of one of the lamps caused it to set fire to one of the hanging canopies, and this resulted in a general conflagration and the entire destruction of the seven storeys of the Vihâr"[2]

[1] See Plate XXVI for Plans of Nos 1, 3, 6, and 7 temples.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XX, p. 76.

Fa Hian mentions that the chapel was rebuilt to the height of two storeys only, when the famous old sandal-wood image of Buddha, which had been made in the time of Prasenajit, was enshrined in it. Fa Hian does not say of what material the new temple was made, but I infer that it must have been of brick, as its height was limited to two storeys. Its door was to the east, near the eastern gate of the Jetavana. It was flanked by two chambers, in front of which stood two stone pillars. These are Fa Hian's details; but in the time of Hwen-Thsang only the two pillars remained to the right and left of the eastern gate.[1] The *Gandha-kuti* and its two chambers were already in ruins, and are not even mentioned by him.

Now the position of the east gate of the garden was certainly in the immediate neighbourhood of No. 2 temple. I believe, indeed, that it was due east from the temple in the position which I have marked in the map to the north of a small tank. But it is also *possible* that it may have been to the south of the tank, and that the road passed between the buildings marked Nos. 14 and 15. Any one of these positions corresponds sufficiently well with Fa Hian's statement that the chapel of Sudatta (or Anâthapindika) was in the middle of the garden.[2] But No. 14 was certainly a stûpa, and No. 15 is not massive enough for a two-storeyed temple. Altogether I think that by far the most probable site was that of No. 2, on which there now stands a large ruined temple, with an unusually broad brick pedestal, such as would have been required for the great sandal-wood statue of Buddha. As the pedestal occupies the full breadth of the temple, the statue must have been in a sitting position. And such we know the sandal-wood figure actually was. This image was made by Râja Prasenajit, during Buddha's visit to the Trayastrinsa heavens to preach the Law to his mother—

"When Buddha returned and entered the Vihâr, the image immediately quitting its place went forward to meet him. On this Buddha addressed these words to it—'Return, I pray you, to your *seat.*'"—

* * On this the figure immediately returned to its seat.[3]

"Buddha subsequently removed and dwelt in a small Vihâr on the south side of the greater one, in a place quite separate from that occupied by the image, and about twenty paces from it."

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 295-296.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XX, p. 79.
[3] This is Beal's version, p. 76; but in Laidlay's translation I find it stated that "the statue *rose*, and afterwards, at the bidding of Buddha, returned and *sat down*.

This Vihâr I take to be the small building marked No. 16 in the map, and which is only 12 feet 9 inches square outside. Its distance from No. 2 is 50 feet, or just 20 paces to the south.

In the view of the *Gandha-kuti*, taken from the Bharhut sculpture, it will be observed that the seat, or throne, of Buddha is empty. This is in strict accordance with all the sculptures of Bharhut, in none of which is Buddha himself ever represented. His head-dress and his foot-prints are frequently seen, as well as the *dharma chakra* symbol, but in no single instance is he represented in person. It seems probable, therefore, that the story of the sandal-wood statue must be of later date than the Bharhut Stûpa, that is, subsequent to the time of Asoka. *Gandha-kuti* means the "Hall of Perfume," and the name was applied to the house in which every Buddha had lived; because perfumes were burned there in honour of the departed Teacher. According to Burnouf, the *Gandha-kuti* was "la salle où l'on brûle des parfums en l'honneur d'un Buddha, et devant son image."[1]

A small head of Buddha, 2½ inches in height, carved in the spotted red sandstone of Sikri, was found inside the chamber, along with two other pieces of sculpture, and a couple of small cowree-shells in an earthen pot.

No. 3.—When Hwen Thsang visited Srâvasti in A.D. 636, he found the Jetavana monastery so completely ruined, that nothing more than the foundations remained. "One small brick temple containing a statue of Buddha rose alone amid the ruins."[2] This solitary temple I have identified with No. 3, because the inscription which I found inside dates back to the early period of Indo-Scythian rule. The statue must, therefore, have been enshrined in this temple several centuries before the time of Hwen Thsang; and as I found it inside the temple in 1863, it is certain that it must have been there in A.D. 636, when the Chinese pilgrim visited the Jetavana. The statue is of colossal size, being 7 feet 4 inches in height. His left hand rests on his hip, and his right hand is raised in the act of teaching. The right shoulder is bare, as in all Buddhist figures, and there is the usual aureole, or nimbus, round the head. Close to the neck there are two small holes cut through the nimbus, which, being larger in front than behind, were evidently intended for metal cramps to fix the statue to the wall. Unfortunately the head is broken, as well as both

[1] Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 317, note 1.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 296.

arms, but the body of the figure is uninjured. The attitude is stiff and constrained, the two feet being exactly in the same position, and somewhat too far apart. The statue is of spotted red sandstone, such as is found in the quarries near Mathura, at Fatehpur Sikri; and as we know from recent discoveries that the sculptor's art was in a very flourishing state at Mathura during the first centuries of the Christian era, I feel satisfied that the Srâvasti colossus must have been brought from that city. The inscription is imperfect at the beginning, just where it must have contained the date. It now opens with the figure 10 and some unit of the Gupta numerals, which must be the day of the month, and then follow the words *etaye purvvaye*, which Professor Dowson thinks must mean "on this notable occasion," or some equivalent expression. Then come the names of the donors of the statue, three mendicant monks, named Pushpa, Siddhya-Mihira, and Bala-Trepitaka; next follow the title of Bodhisatwa, the name of the place, *Srâvasti*, and the name of Buddha as Bhagavata. The inscription closes with the statement that the statue is the "accepted gift of the *Sarvâstidina* teachers of the Kosamba hall."[1]

This mention of *Kosamba-kuti* serves to identify the site of the building with that of the temple shown in the bas-relief of the Bharhut Stûpa. I do not suppose that the building is the same, although this is not impossible. But I am rather inclined to believe that the building represented in the bas-relief is a wooden structure. It is certain, however, that the colossal stone statue was not in the temple at the time of Asoka—1st, because there is no image shown in this view; and 2nd, because the statue actually found in the temple belongs to the Indo-Scythian period.

The outside dimensions of this small brick temple are 19 feet by 18 feet, with a room only 7 feet 9 inches square, the walls being upwards of 4 feet thick, with a projection of 6 inches in the middle of each face. The floor was paved with large stones, and immediately in front of the pedestal there was a long flat slab, 3 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, with a pair of hollow foot-prints in the middle, and a small hollow on each side. Behind the foot-prints, and immediately in front of the pedestal of the statue, there was a long rough hollow, 3 feet 4 inches by 4 inches, which judging from what I have seen in Burma, must once have held a frame for the reception of lights in front of the statue But all this

[1] Archæological Survey of India, I, 339, 340.

arrangement was certainly of later date than the statue itself, for on opening up the floor it was found that the Buddhapadslab concealed the lower two lines of the inscription, which fortunately had been thus preserved from injury, while the third or uppermost line had been almost entirely destroyed.

Nos. 4 and 13 are a pair of large rooms with comparatively slight walls, which I think from their size must have been public rooms for meetings, either for meals or for study. The more northerly room is 27 feet 8 inches by 22 feet, with walls of 3 feet; the other room is 26 feet 2 inches by 21 feet 2 inches, with walls of 3 feet 5 inches. The former lies due north from the latter, at a distance of 28 feet and 170 feet to the west of No. 3. No. 13 has a small room, 8 feet 6 inches square, on the east side. Nothing was found in either of the rooms.

No. 5 was the most conspicuous object in the Jetavana, being a conical mound upwards of 30 feet in height. After clearing away 7 feet of rubbish I came upon a square room, which at first sight I thought must be a temple; but as no opening was found in any of the walls, it became certain that the mound was a ruined stûpa. This soon proved to be the case, as we found great numbers of clay seals, both burnt and unburnt, lying 1 foot above a regularly made floor of broken brick, 8½ feet below the top of the walls. On the west side there, was a small raised platform, like the pedestal of a statue, and exactly in the middle of the east side there was one-half of a lion's head in stone, of life-size. Beneath the floor the whole mass, was of solid brick for a depth of 14 feet, where the plain earth was reached. At 2½ feet from the bottom of this solid mass, twenty cowree-shells were found lying together in the very centre of the shaft. These were probably the votive offering of one of the workmen. The bricks were from 14 to 15 inches long by 9 inches broad and 2¼ inches thick.

From this description it is clear that the solid brick-work below is the ruin of a stûpa of very old date, probably as old as the time of Asoka; while the square building above is the basement of a mediæval stûpa built on the top of the other. This basement is 25 feet 6 inches square, above which rose the hemisphere upwards of 20 feet in diameter. The crown of the dome was, therefore, more than 33 feet high above the ground, to which may be added a pinnacle of umbrellas, placed one over the other up to 17 feet, which would make the total height of the stûpa just 50 feet.

Of the burnt clay seals found inside, the most interesting is a unique specimen 2 inches long by 1½ inch broad, with a small stûpa accompanied by eighteen lines of writing. This was found along with a broken stûpa of unburnt clay, in which it was most probably preserved, until it was disinterred by a blow of the digger's pick. The letters of the inscription are unfortunately very small,[1] and rather difficult to distinguish. But I can read many portions of it, and from the occurrence of the word *pratishthita*, "established," I think it probable that there may be some reference to the erection of the stûpa. The first line is simply *Namâ Bhagavato*, or "Glory to Buddha": and the last three lines, Nos. 16, 17, 18, contain only the well-known Buddhist creed: *Ye dharmma hetu prabhava*, &c. I can read the title of *Tathâgata* in several places, and also *namo Bhagavato Sâkya Muni* in the fourth line.

Of the second kind of burnt clay seals, twelve specimens were found.[2] In the middle there is a large stûpa of old form, crowned with three large umbrellas surmounted by a wheel. There are the usual flags, or streamers, on each side, and a couple of large bells, one on each side, hanging from the umbrellas. This is the first time that I have seen bells in these sculptured representations of stûpas; but they are extensively used throughout Burma at the present day, suspended from the edges of the umbrellas of the pinnacle. A gilt metal Pipal leaf is hung from each clapper, which waves with every breath of wind, and causes the tongue to strike the bell, now strongly and now softly; and the accumulated sound of a number of these bells, which is heard distinctly at night for a considerable distance, is very sweet and pleasing. Besides the great stûpa, there are four small stûpas, two on each side; and below there is the Buddhist creed inscribed in three lines of mediæval characters.

Of the third kind of burnt clay seals, only nine specimens were found. They are rather more than 1 inch in diameter, and contain only the Buddhist creed arranged in five lines of very neatly executed mediæval characters.

The unburnt clay seals are of four different kinds, three large and one small. Each of the large ones was found imbedded in a ball of clay from 3½ to 4 inches in diameter. But the small ones, which are only three-quarters of an inch in

[1] See Plate XXVIII, fig. 1, for the seal, and fig. 5 for the stûpa of unburnt clay in which it was enclosed.
[2] See Plate XXVIII, fig. 2.

diameter, were always found in pairs, face to face, in the middle of a stûpa of unburnt clay. One of these stûpas is represented in the accompanying plate,[1] with the pair of small seals shown by dotted lines. I have named the four classes of unburnt seals as noted in the following description. All of the larger seals are coloured with vermilion :—

1. *Buddha Seals.*—Each bearing a figure of Buddha seated on a lotus throne in meditation. On each side there are two small stûpas, and the Buddhist creed is arranged around the seals. There were 18 specimens, all more or less broken, each being 2⅝ inches high by 1⅞ broad. The shape is oval, with a pointed top and a round base.

2. *Small Stûpa Seals.*—Of these there were 164 specimens of the same shapes as the last, each being 3½ inches long by 2¾ inches broad. In the middle there is a single tall elongated stûpa, with 50 small stûpas arranged on each side and below. The Buddhist creed occupies three lines at the bottom.

3. *Large Stûpa Seals.*—There were 62 specimens of these, all more or less broken, owing to their having been always damp. On each there are three large stûpas with flags flying from the pinnacles, and ten small stûpas arranged in four perpendicular lines. The Buddhist creed occupies three lines below, but it is remarkable that on every specimen the text was incomplete, the last word *Mahâsramana* being represented only by its initial letter.

4. *Small Creed Seals.*—Of these upwards of 200 were found enclosed in the middle of unburnt clay stûpas. Most of the seals must have been put inside while still wet and soft, as they are nearly all more or less destroyed in shape by pressure. They contain the Buddhist creed only, arranged in five lines of very small letters.

I believe that nothing is known as to the purpose of these seals. The question "who placed them there, and what was the object," remains still unanswered. The very great number of these offerings is puzzling. In the Bîrdâban stûpa in Magadha I found upwards of 2,500 seals of lac, heaped in large earthenware vessels. My guess is that they were votive offerings of the people at large, and that every Buddhist purchased one of these from the monks who manufactured them, for the purpose of making his offering to the stûpa. The burnt clay seals, which were only 21 in number

[1] See Plate XXVIII, fig. 4, which is only half-size.

in the Jetavana Stûpa, may have been the offerings of the monks themselves from different monasteries; whilst all the unburnt clay seals would be the offerings of the people, those with two enclosed seals being perhaps *family* offerings.

Although the inscribed seals generally present us with the Buddhist creed only, yet they serve by the shapes of the letters to give an approximate date to the building in which they are found. I have called them mediæval, as their exact date is necessarily uncertain, some of the seals being apparently older than the others. But I think that the whole of these Jetavana seals may be included in a period of about two centuries, ranging from 700 to 900 A.D. This would fix the date of the rebuilding of the stûpa at about 900 A.D.

No. 6 is a small brick temple, 13 feet 2 inches square, with its entrance facing the north. It contained a small pedestal, but the enshrined figure was gone. It lies to the west-north-west of the stûpa.[1]

No. 7 is another brick temple, 48 feet to the west-north-west of No. 6. Its entrance faces the east, and leads through a small room, 7 feet 3 inches square, into the shrine, which is 11 feet 9 inches square.[2] In aftertimes the entrance room was reduced to a mere passage, by the addition of two new walls inside. Apparently the old walls of the entrance room had given way, and these inner walls were added to strengthen the building internally. The pedestal is of brick 4 feet 6 inches broad, and extends across the whole breadth of the room. I infer from its size that it was once occupied by a colossal sitting statue. The bricks are 15 x 8½ x 2½ inches, like those of the old solid stûpa. I look upon it as one of the oldest buildings in the Jetavana.

No. 8 stands on the lower terrace of No. 1 temple. It consists of two distinct rooms placed back to back, the larger room facing to the north, and the smaller room to the south.[3] The larger room is 19 feet 8 inches long by 15 feet 4 inches broad. It has pillars or pilasters in the four corners, and in the middle of the shorter sides, and two large square pillars against the back wall. The smaller room is 10 feet square, with a recess at the back, as if for the reception of a statue. Nothing was found in either of the rooms. I discovered, however, that they are of different dates, as the mouldings of the back wall of the south room are now exposed, showing

[1] See Plate XXV. [2] See Plate XXV. [3] See Plate XXVI.

that the back wall of the north room in this part is only 9 inches, or just one brick thick.

No. 9 is the remains of a stûpa of which only the base, 16 feet 8 inches square, now remains.[1] I dug out the solid brick-work for about 2 feet below the base of the hemisphere without finding anything. But the excavation was afterwards carried deeper by Mr. Hoey, who found a slab with the Buddhist creed engraved in large characters belonging to the 7th or 8th century.

No. 10 was a low mound in which only rubbish was found, all the bricks having been previously extracted by the villagers.

No. 11 stands quite at the southern end of the enclosure, with its entrance facing the north. It is built on a peculiar plan, comprising three rooms in one line, with a verandah in front, and a passage running all round the middle room.[2] This room, which is 11 feet deep and 8 feet 8 inches broad, appears to me to have been a temple; while the two side rooms may have been the dwellings of the attendant monks. A black stone pedestal was found in the verandah. The whole building is 57½ feet long by 36 feet broad.

No. 12 is a similar building to the last, but of more elaborate construction. It stands close to the other on the east, and has the same arrangement of three rooms in one line with a verandah in front, and a passage running all round the centre room. The dimensions also are much the same, the whole block being 57 by 39½ feet. There was nothing found in this building to declare its purpose; but I have no doubt that the middle cell was the shrine of a figure of Buddha, while the two side rooms were the dwellings of two attendant monks. This is made nearly certain by the two small doors in the back wall of the monks' rooms leading down to two latrines.[3]

No. 14 is a ruined stûpa, of which only the square basement now remains. I found a large hole dug in the very middle of it, which I enlarged; but the only result was the proof that the whole was one mass of solid brick-work. The diameter of the stûpa was only 12½ feet.[4]

No. 15 is a small building to the south of No. 14. From its narrow doorway it appears to have been a dwelling-house, but inside it I found the lower halves of two seated figures

[1] See Plate XXV. [2] See Plate XXIX. for Nos. 11 and 12. [3] See Plate XXIX.
[4] See Plate XXX. I.

of small size; one in coarse grey sandstone, and the other in black stone from Gaya.

No. 16 is a small brick building, only 13 feet 9 inches square outside. Its entrance faces the east. It may have been a temple containing a statue of Buddha, as the room inside is only 5 feet 9 inches square, but its position due south from No. 2, which I have identified with the *Gandha-kuṭi*, seems to point to its site as that of the actual dwelling-place of Buddha himself after his return from the Trayastrinsa heavens. The present ruin may be the remains of a temple of later date.[1]

Nos. 17 and 18 are a pair of small stûpas at the north-west corner of No. 9 Stûpa. They are only 5 feet 8 inches in diameter. Nothing was found in them.

I have been thus minute in my account of the existing ruins which I excavated in the Jetavana, because I have found by experience that whenever the foundations of a building are uncovered, the people of the country immediately carry away all the stones and bricks, and leave not a trace behind.

The only other ancient works in the Jetavana that remain to be noticed are the wells I found five of these in different places, and I have no doubt that there are others concealed in the jungul. These five I have marked in the map with the letters A, B, C, D, E. The well marked A is octagonal, which is still a favourite shape amongst the Buddhists of Burma. But it differs from all others that I have seen in having the top of each side curved with a projection of 9 inches towards the middle of the well.[2] These projections enable a man to stand upright while he drops his vessel into the water in the angle formed between two of them, instead of leaning forward, as must be done at other wells. In the lower part the well is a simple octagon of somewhat more than 9½ feet diameter, which is changed to a circle at the water-level. The other wells are round and much smaller—B being 6 feet 10 inches, C 3 feet 5 inches, D 7 feet 6 inches, and E 4 feet 6 inches—in diameter. I cleared out A, B, and D, in the hope of finding some ancient remains. Fragments of pottery were of course found, but only in small pieces. In B there was the entire skeleton of a wild hog, which must have fallen in, and not being able to get out was starved to death. The junguls of Srâvasti now abound with wild hog, which the

[1] See Plate XXX. [2] See Plate XXIX for a plan of the well.

people hunt on foot with spears and swords. I was much amused, therefore, whilst encamped at Srâvasti, to read in the English newspapers how the Prince of Wales had pursued the wild boar—a sport for which the natives of the country had not sufficient pluck!

With regard to other positions at Srâvasti, I have seen no reason to make any change in the identifications which I proposed in my previous report,[1] and I am glad to say that they have been generally acquiesced in by Mr. W. C. Benet, whose duties, as Settlement Officer of the district, gave him the most favourable opportunities for prosecuting such enquiries. Whilst encamped at Saket, he was able to make some excavations in the Angulimaliya Stûpa inside the city. He dug down more than 20 feet, "but beyond disclosing a square building of 24 feet each way, with a partition wall down the centre, and a second wall running all round the building at a distance of 4 feet," discovered nothing of interest. He also found, what I have experienced frequently, a difficulty in getting labourers, as the neighbouring villagers have a superstitious dread of "interfering with the old city, and will not enter it after sunset." On a second visit also he found that a storm of thunder and lightning which came on "was interpreted as a manifest token of the demons' displeasure with the man who had violated their haunts."[2] I examined the mound at my last visit, and found that a Hindu Bairâgi had taken up his residence on the top of it, where he had built himself a thatched hut. The ruin is now known as *paka-kuti*, in contrast to an earthen mound 400 feet to the east, which is called *kacha-kuti*. At some former time the mound is said to have been occupied by a fakir, who built the brick walls now found on the top, which are 2 feet 7 inches thick and 31 feet apart.

There is one site not noticed in my former report, which I think may be identified with some probability, namely, the famous mango tree which grew up in *a moment*, outside the gate of the city, from a stone planted by Ananda at Buddha's desire. The story is related in both the Burmese and Ceylonese chronicles. Buddha having promised to perform some miracles at Sewet at the foot of a mango tree, his opponents, the Tirthikas, "purchased all the mango trees in and near the city that they might destroy them."

[1] Archæological Survey of India, vol. I. [2] Gazetteer of Oudh, vol. III, p. 236.

"But on the day appointed Buddha took his alms-bowl as usual, and came with his priests to the gate of the city. On the morning of the same day the king's gardener, Gandamba, in passing through the royal orchard, found a cluster of ripe mangos. As they were not then in season, he thought it would be well to go and present them to the king. But on his way to the palace, he saw Buddha near the gate of the city, and reflected thus: 'If I present the mangos to the king, he will perhaps give me a reward in gold; but if I offer them to the divine teacher, he will give me a reward more permanent, and will save me from the perils of existence.' Thus thinking he reverently approached Buddha, and presented the fruit. Ananda took off the outer skin, and having prepared a throne for Buddha in the same place, requested him there to eat it. The dewas assembled around, unseen by all but the gardener. After eating the fruit, the sage gave the stone to Gandamba, and directed him to set it in the ground near the same spot; and in like manner, after washing his mouth, he told Ananda to throw the water upon the kernel that had just been set. In a moment the earth clove, a sprout appeared, and a tree arose, with five principal stems, and many thousand smaller branches overshadowing the city. It was 300 cubits in circumference; was laden with blossoms and the richest fruit, and because set by Gandamba, was called by his name. Some of the unbelievers who ate the fruit that fell from the tree ran about hither and thither, as if deprived of their senses. When the King of Kosal perceived the tree from his palace, he went to the gate of the city with a great retinue, and expressed his regret to Buddha that he had not known what was to take place, as if he had known he would have assembled a great multitude to witness the performing of the wonder; but he was told that it was of no consequence, as this was only an inferior matter. A guard was placed round the tree, that no accident might happen to it from the unbelievers."[1]

The scene of this miracle I believe to have been the site of the present village of *Chakra Bhâṇḍâr*, which is only a few hundred feet outside the city on the road to the Jetavana. The village occupies a large mound, 450 long by 350 feet broad, on the top of which there is still a very fine mango tree, which may possibly be a descendant of the famous tree which was believed to have been planted by Buddha's desire. The name of the village is most likely significant, *Bhâṇḍâr* being only a contracted form of *Bhânḍâgâr*, "a treasury or store-room."

In all the traditions of Kosala, or Northern Oudh, Râma of course holds the first place. But the next after him, both in time and in fame, is King Vikramâditya. The earliest mention of him is by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who calls him King of Srâvasti, and places him about half way in the

[1] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 205—296; Legend of the Burmese Buddha, p. 205.

one thousand years that had passed between the Nirvâna of Buddha and his own time.[1] This may be reckoned in round numbers as about five centuries before his own date, or A.D. 136 as an approximate date. During his time flourished the Great Buddhist Teacher Manorhita, the author of the Vibhâsha Sâstra. The king assembled one hundred Buddhist monks, and the same number of Brahmans, to discuss the merits of their respective religions, declaring at the same time that if the Srâmanas prevailed in argument, he would embrace the Buddhist religion, and if they were vanquished in argument, he would join the Brahmans, and exterminate the Buddhists. Manorhita failed; and being ashamed at his humiliation, bit out his tongue and died. Shortly after Vikramâditya died also. Then *Vasubandhu*, the pupil of Manorhita, went to the new king (whose name is not given), and demanded a fresh discussion with the Brahmans, which was granted. The heretics who had disputed with Manorhita were again assembled, and being vanquished by Vasubandhu they retired.

The same story is related by the Tibetan author Târanâth, who places Manorhita and Vikramâditya nine hundred years after the death of Buddha.[2] Vikramâditya, who is called King of Ayodhya, was succeeded by his son *Prâditya*, who with his mother favoured Vasubandhu. But the king's brother-in-law, Vasurata, who is called a Brahman, and who is said to have been a leader of the Tirtikas, having written a reply to Vasubandhu's *kosha*, the Buddhist answered him so successfully that the king presented him with one lakh of gold (pieces), while the king's mother gave him two lakhs. With this money he set up a statue in each of the kingdoms of Kipin (Kabul), Purushapura, and Ayodhya. At last he died at Ayodhya at the age of 80 years.

In another place Vassilief speaks of a *Prâditya*, who was the son of King *Prasanna*, and the father of King *Mahâsyani*; who were rulers of Magadha and the East.[3] Apparently this Prâditya cannot be the same person as Prâditya, the son of Vikramâditya. For *Prâditya* I would read *Parâditya*, and in this form of the name we may perhaps identify him with *Parâkrma*, which was the title of Samudra Gupta, the son of Chandra Gupta.

According to the traditions of Ayodhya, that city had remained desolate from the death of Vrihadbala to the time

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 115.
[2] Vassilief, Le Buddhisme, French translation, p. 218.
[3] Vassilief Le Buddhisme, p. 53, note.

of Vikramâditya of Ujjain, "who came in search of the holy city, erected a fort called Râmgarh, cut down "the forests by which the ruins were covered, and erected 360 temples on the places sanctified by the extraordinary actions of Rama."[1] The Vikramâditya of this story I take to be Chandra Gupta Vikramâditya, whose rule certainly extended to Ujjain, as we have found his inscriptions at Sânchi and Udaygiri near Bhilsa. The same story of Vikramâditya's restoration of the ancient places is also told at Devi Pâtan; so that we may accept the tradition as the survival of the story told by Hwen Thsang of a powerful Brahmanical king who ruled over Northern Oudh. According to the pilgrim's chronology, which places Kanishka four hundred years after Buddha, and Vikramâditya five hundred years after Buddha, this king must have lived about one century after Kanishka. Now the recent discovery of the gold coins of Kanishka and Huvishka in the Ahinposh Stûpa along with the Roman gold coins of Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, seems to place the date of Kanishka quite at the end of the first century of the Christian era. This would fix Vikramâditya in the end of the second century, or about A.D. 200. Now this is the very date which I have already assigned to Chandra Gupta Vikramâditya, whom I take to have been the founder of the Gupta era in A.D. 166.

The son and successor of Chandra Gupta I., was Samudra Gupta, who takes the title of Parâkrma on his coins. This title I take to be the same as *Parâditya*, the full name being Parâkramaditya. We have also the most explicit authority for placing these Gupta kings in Oudh, as the Vayu Purân says,—

"Princes of the Gupta race will possess all these countries, the banks of the Ganges to Prayâga, and *Sáketa*, and *Magadha*."[2]

Sâketa is only another name for Ayodhya, as I have already shown in my report on that place.[3] Admitting, then, that the Brahmanical Guptas were the rulers of Oudh for the two centuries immediately preceding Fa Hian's visit, one can easily understand how much the Buddhist religion must have suffered during that time, and how it was that he found only two hundred families inhabiting the great Buddhist city of Srâvasti, which was a mile and half in length. After his time the Buddhists would seem to have

[1] Buchanan's Eastern India, vol. II, pp. 333—334. See also my report on Ajudhya in Archæology Survey, I, 321.
[2] Wilson's Vishnu Purân, p. 479, note.
[3] Archæological Survey of India, I, 320.

suffered still more severely, as in A.D. 626 Hwen Thsang found only one small brick temple standing alone amid the ruins. But while the Buddhists were going down, the Brahmans were rising, and accordingly we find the pilgrim recording that there were "a hundred temples of the gods, and an enormous number of heretics."[1]

But shortly after the time of Hwen Thsang there must have been a strong revival of Buddhism at Srâvasti, as is shown by the numbers of inscribed seals, and of broken Buddhist figures of a mediæval date which have been discovered. This revival was probably begun under the fostering rule of Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj, A.D. 607-648, and would seem to have continued unchecked until the general rise of Brahmanism about the middle of the 8th century.

To the following period I would assign the Râjas whose names still live in the memories of the people as the kings of *Chandrikapuri*, which all are agreed was the new name of Srâvasti. These kings were—

Mayura-dhwaja.
Hansa-dhwaja.
Makara-dhwaja.
Sudhanwa-dhwaja.
Suhir-dal-dhwaja.

The last is said to have been the contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni and the opponent of Sâlâr Masâud. Mr. Benett says that this family were Jains.[2]

Before quitting Srâvasti I will say a few words regarding the probable identity of the two kings, Vikramâditya and his son Parâditya, with the Vikramâditya and Samudra Pâla of one of the principal dynasties whose names are preserved in the Râjavali of Mritunjaya Pandit. I have two MS. copies of this list, one obtained at Kapurthala, and the other at Chanderi, for comparison with the lists published by Ward and Sayid-Ahmed. From Mr. Benett's account it would appear that he had already made this identification, although the last name given by him utterly disagrees with that of all the four lists accessible to me. The following brief notice is necessary to show how the dynasty of Vikramâditya obtained the throne.

The last king of the race of Mayura was Râja Pâla. He was conquered by Ṣakâditya, an invader from the mountains of Kumâun, who ruled for fourteen years. In my MS. the

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 293.
[2] Oudh Gazetteer, VIII, p. 283.

conqueror is called *Sukwanti* and also *Sankhdhwaj*, but I have no doubt that he is intended for a leader of the Ṣakas, as on his defeat Vikramâditya assumed the title of *Sâkâri*, or "foe of the Sakas." As the exploit of killing a *Ṣaka* king is also attributed to a Chandra Gupta, we have got one good step towards proving the identity of the Vikramâditya of the Râjavali lists with a Chandra Gupta. The story is given by Bâna in his Harsha Charita. In Professor Hall's copy it is said that—

"a prince of the Ṣakas (was killed) at Nalinapura by Chandra Gupta, habited as a woman.[1]

In Bhau Dâji's copy it is given somewhat differently—

"In Aripuri a Ṣakapati (King of Ṣakas), an adulterer, was punished by Chandra Gupta, who presented himself in the dress of a woman."[2]

The following are the four lists of the kings of this family according to the different readings of the MSS. of the Râjavali. In the lengths of the reigns I have omitted the months and days and given the years only.

	Ward History, III, 27.		Sayid Ahmed, Delhi.		Cunningham, Kapurthala MS.		Cunningham, Chanderi MS.	
	Sakâditya ...	14	Sukwant ...	12	Sukwant ...	14	Sukwanti ...	...
	Vikramâditya ...	93	Vikramâditya ...	93	Vikramâditya ..	90	Vikramâditya ...	...
1	Samudra Pâla ...	24	Samudra Pal ...	24	Samudra Pal ...	54	Samudra Pal ...	54
2	Chandra Pâla ...	40	Chandra P. ...	27	Chandra P. ...	36	Chandra P. ...	36
3	Nayana P. ...	51	Nai P. ...	21	Nai P. ..	21	Bi P. ...	21
4	Desa P. ..	47	Des P. .	14	Des P. ...	39	Mukha P. ...	26
5	Narasinha P. ...	48	Singh P. ..	19	Narsingh P. ...	28	Govinda P. ...	28
6	Suta P. ...	38	Govinda P. ..	18	Sobha P. ...	28	Narsingh P ...	2
7	Laksha P. ..	38	Mukh P. ...	22	Laghu P.	22	Sobha P. ...	27
8	Amrita P. ...	27	Harchand ..	13	Govind P. ..	28	Desa P. ..	40
9	Mahi P. ...	39	Mahi ..	15	Amrita P.	26	Surat P. ..	27
10	Govinda P. ...	55	Hari ..	14	Bali P.	12	Bali P. ...	22
11	Hari P. ..	25	....	..	Mahi P. ..	15	Mahi P. ..	15
12	Bhima P. ...	49	.....	...	Nara P. ..	14	Amara P. ...	17
13	Ananda P. ...	31	......	...	Bhima P. ...	12	Bhima P. ..	12
14	Madana P. ...	38	Madan P. ..	18	Nanda P. ...	17	Madana P. ...	18
15	Karma P. ...	45	Karm ..	13	Karma P. ...	15	Karma P. ...	15
16	Vikrama P. ...	44	Vikram P. ..	12	Vikrama P. ...	15	Vikrama Pala ...	25
		641		232		384		412

[1] Preface to Vâsavadatta.

[2] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, X, 44

The last king, Vikrama Pâla, was killed in bàttle by Tilok Chand, the Râja of Vaharânch, or Bahraich, according to Ward, for which name I think we should read Baiswara, and thus identify the conqueror with the founder of the Bais Rajputs. Mr. Benett has not given any list of these kings, but he calls the last one *Gayâditya*. In all the four lists here given there is a general agreement of names, showing that they have been derived from one common source. Regarding the lengths of reigns, I do not think them of any value whatever, and I would prefer taking a general average of fifteen years for each *reign*, thus giving a total of two hundred and forty years to the sixteen kings.

Regarding the names, it is certainly a curious coincidence, remembering that Pâla and Gupta have the same meaning, that Vikramâditya should be followed by Samudra Pâla and Chandra Pâla, just as Chandra Gupta I. was followed by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. But as none of the following names agree with those of Kumâra, or Skanda, or Budha, it seems doubtful whether this dynasty can be the same as that of the Guptas. Both the time and the place agree, as well as the names of Pâla and Gupta, and though Desa Pâla might be identified with Deva Gupta, yet I see no name that approaches even distantly to that of Kumâra, or of Skanda, or of Buddha. I think, however, that the lists may possibly be of use for the purpose of comparing them with the names preserved in local traditions.

XX.—PACHRAN.

The small village of Pachran is situated between Gauda (Gonda of maps) and Sâket, or Srâvasti, at 17½ miles to the north of the former and 11 miles to the south of the latter. It stands upon a large mound 150 feet long by 80 feet broad and 25 feet high. Near it is a second mound 20 feet high, apparently formed of solid brickwork. Here the Prithi-nâth *lingam*, which is now enshrined in a temple on the top of the mound, is said to have been found when the dense jungul which covered the mound was cleared away by Raja Mân Singh about 1860. A copper-plate was also found here about 1868, which was taken away by Nicholson Saheb to Gonda. It is said to have contained the name of Yudhishthira, which is probable enough, as most of the copper-plate grants contain the well-known verse about him, and the threat of 60,000 years' torment to the resumers of land grants.

The name of *Pachran* may perhaps be derived from *Pancha-aranya*, or the "five forests," as the place is said to have been a favourite one with the ancient Rishis, whose names are still attached to several spots in the neighbourhood. The solid brick mound on which the temple now stands looked to me exactly like a ruined stûpa. But the presence of the *lingam* with an ornamented *argha*, and of a stone figure of Chaturbhuj, or Vishnu, show that the place must, at least in later times, have been occupied by Brahmans. But most probably it is an old Buddhist site, which was deserted during the decay of Buddhism under the Gupta rulers.

XXI.—KORON-DIH, OR KORÂWA.

I paid a visit to the old site of *Koron*, or *Korâwa-dih*, because the people agreed in stating that the old name of the place was *Kolpur*, which I thought might perhaps be connected with the old city of *Koli*, the birth-place of Mâyâdevi. But the site of Kapila-vastu having been fixed at Bhüila Tâl, the position of Koron-dih, 18 miles to the east of Basti, and 40 miles from Bhüila, is much too distant to be identified with that of *Koli*.

The present village is situated at the eastern end of a very large mound, which has once been the site of a town upwards of a mile in circuit. The mound lies in a bend of the *Rasârhi*, or *Asârhi*, Nala, which is so named because it is an inundation channel that begins to fill in the month of *Ashârh*, or *Ashâdha*. The water comes from the overflow of the Katni and Küâno rivers. The Katni and the Kundar are high-level channels, which were probably canals, or artificial cuts originally, while the Küâno and the Ami are old deep channels of permanent streams.

There are no remains on the Korâwa mound itself, but to the west there are two small mounds named Piprâwâ Mahâdeva and Barewa Mahadeva, which are the ruins of Brahmanical temples. But the great mass of ruins lies to the south of the Rasârhi Nala, on the northern bank of the Harnâya Tâl, and one-quarter of a mile to the east of the village of Chandüa. These remains are known by the general name of Bhîtâ, or "the mounds."

I made an excavation round the top of the Piparewa mound, which disclosed a small lingam temple, 22 feet by 18 feet outside. The people still worship on this spot, although the walls of the temple are gone, and only the lingam remains *in situ*.

The remains at Bhita extend for about 400 feet in length by 150 feet in breadth. The principal ruin is a mound 10 feet in height with the remains of walls 120 feet apart. As its highest part is in the middle, I think it must be the remains of a temple, or Vihâr. Here I found numerous carved bricks, and some pieces of the *amalaka* fruit of a pinnacle of a temple. Immediately to the east there is a round mound 10 feet high, out of which were obtained several wedge-shaped bricks belonging to a stûpa of only 8 feet diameter. But this was the cupola of the stûpa, as the bricks from the lower part of the mass were 12 by 9 by 2 inches. I found nothing whatever in the excavations to show whether Bhitâ was a Bhuddhist or a Brahmanical site. At the village of Paraṛi, 1 mile to the west, I found the lower part of a statue of the Sun, with the usual horses on the pedestal, which was said to have been brought from the Bhita mound. This, however, proves nothing, as the statues of Surya are very numerous in the Bhuddhist ruins of Magadha.

XXII.—JAUNPUR.

For nearly a century the city of Jaunpur was the capital of an independent Muhammadan kingdom, perhaps the richest in Northern India. The founder of the dynasty Khwâja Jahân was appointed to the government of the eastern provinces by Mahmud Tughlak with the title of *Malik-us-Shark* and took up his residence at Jaunpur. He was shortly after succeeded by his adopted son Mubârak, who declared his independence, and assumed the title of *Sultân-us-Shark*, or "King of the East." Mubârak died in A.H. 801, or A.D. 1398, and was succeeded by his brother Ibrâhim, during whose long reign of 43 years the sway of the *Sharki* kings was firmly established over the fairest provinces of Northern India, from Kanauj to Bihâr and from Bahraich to Etâwa. To this king and his family we owe all the magnificent masjids still existing at Jaunpur, as well as the smaller ones of the same style at Kanauj, Benares, and Etâwah. During the period of their sway, covering nearly the whole of the 9th century of the Hijra, the architecture of Delhi is represented only by the tomb of Mubârak Sayid at Delhi, and by those of Alâuddin Alam Shah and his family at Budaon. But the Kings of the East, who built such magnificent mosques, have left behind them no tombs, all of them being contented with plain grave stones in the open air.

The architecture of Jaunpur is confined almost entirely to these Muhummadan mosques, for the Sharki kings who were such great builders were equally great destroyers, as every masjid was reared on the site of a Hindu temple. Even the old name of the place is lost, and we are left to conjecture whether the Muhammadan story that Feroz Shah named the city after his cousin *Jaunan* (Muhammad Tughlak) is more probable than the rival statements of the Brahmans about *Jamadagnipura* and *Yavanapura*. One thing is quite certain, that no Hindu ever calls the place *Jaunpur*, but always *Jamanpur*, which seems to point to *Yavanapura* as the original name just as *Kâl Jaman* is the common spoken form for *Kâl Yavan*.[1] In one of the Sanskrit inscriptions, which I found on a pillar in the Lâl Darwâza Masjid, there is a name which I read as *Yamonydydmpura*, or *Ayothayampura*, which seems as if it might have been the original of the Hindu Jamanpur. As to the Muhammadan name, I believe it to be only a slight alteration of the old name for the purpose of pleasing Feroz Shah. Some one made the ingenious discovery that the letters of *Shahr Jonpur* gave. the number 772, reckoned by the *Abjad*, and as this was the date of Feroz Shah's visit, the new form of the name was at once adopted. Indeed the place is actually mentioned by name more than a century before the time of Feroz Shah's alleged foundation of it. In the year 665 A.H., or A.D. 1266, during the reign of Balban, "the intercourse between Delhi and Bengal, by the route of Jaunpur and Benares," was interrupted.[2] In this passage Ferishta has either adopted the later spelling of the name, as he has also done in Peshâwar for Parshâwar, or he may have found the name so written in the author from whom he quoted, as the early Muhammadans always wrote *Jun* for the *Jamna* river and would therefore have written Jonpur for Jamanpur.

But whatever may have been the original name, it is quite certain that there was a city on this site long before the Muhammadan conquest. In fact, the conquerors themselves acknowledge this, when they relate how all their masjids were built on the sites of Hindu temples which they had destroyed.

The Hindus tell the same story now which they told forty years ago. The fort overhanging the river was called

[1] So Abu Raihân writes the name; see Reinand, Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 138, and note 2.

[2] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 256.

Karâr-koṭ, after a demon named *Karâr*, who was killed by Râma, and afterwards worshipped under the name of *Karâr-Bîr*, or "*Karâr*, the demon." His shrine exists at the north-west side of the fort, and still receives its libations of oil from the people. The name of the old town is not known, but the part which lies immediately to the north-east of the fort is still called *Karâra*. Four miles to the south-east of *Karâr-koṭ*, on the site of the present Zafarâbâd, stood the palace of the later Rathor Kings of Kanauj, with whom this was a favourite residence. The Hindu name of this place is not known, but it is said to have been either *Sampur*, or *Samat-pur*.

Tradition assigns the erection of the *Atala Devi* temple to Râjâ Jay Chand Rathor in the year 1416 Samvat, or A.D. 1359. The date is wrong by nearly two centuries, as Jaya Chandra began to reign in A.D. 1175, and was killed in 1193. To his father Bijay Chand, or Vijaya Chandra Deva, we may assign with some certainty the temple of *Bijay-Mandar* and the great tank of Bijay Tâl; for not only do their names preserve the memory of Bijay Chand, but in their neighbour-hood, on one of the pillars of the Lâl Darwâza Masjid, I discovered an inscription of this prince, dated in Samvat 1229, or A.D. 1172. The temple of *Atala Devi* may therefore be assigned to his son Jaya Chandra Deva in accordance with the tradition.

That the site of Jaunpur was occupied by the Hindus at a much earlier period, is also quite certain, as I discovered in the archway of the south gate of the Jâmi Masjid an in-scription of the 8th or 9th century which gives the name of King Iswara Varmma, the conqueror of Chandra Sena of the Vindhya mountains. Perhaps this king may be identified with *I-sha-fu-mo*, King of Central India, who is mentioned by the Chinese as reigning in 731 A.D. A king of Jaunpur who made a campaign in the Vindhya mountains must have ruled over Benares also, and must, therefore, have belonged to the great dynasty of Varmma Princes, who ruled over West-ern Magadha, while the later Gupta princes held Eastern Magadha.

There is not at present a trace of any old Hindu temples standing, for the Muhammadans did their work of destruc-tion with unusual completeness. It has been thought that the arcades may be parts of the old Hindu enclosures un-altered, but this does not appear to me to have been the case; for all the existing arcades of the three great masjids are

formed after the fashion of the Kutb Masjid arcades, with two low storeys of short pillars in the corners, and with tall pillars made by placing one Hindu shaft on the top of another shaft in the one-storeyed portions of the central aisles. Everywhere there are Hindu remains worked up in the walls of the masjids, but the more striking remains are the Hindu pillars in the fort and Lâl Darwâza Masjids, and in the tombs at Zafarâbâd. These will be noticed in their proper places when I come to describe the buildings of which they form a part. The few inscriptions that have been found will be given together, but the facts mentioned by them will be referred to in their proper places. It is remarkable that no inscriptions of the Sharki kings themselves have been discovered. This is most probably due to the spiteful vengence of Sikandar Lodi, who destroyed all the eastern or principal gates of the masjids, where the inscriptions are usually placed, and would have destroyed the masjids themselves but for the remonstrances of the Mullâhs.

The oldest building in Jaunpur is the masjid in the fort, which, for want of any other name, may be conveniently called the "*Fort Masjid.*" It is a long narrow building of the early Bengâli type, that is, a simple arcade supported on carved Hindu pillars, with three low domes in the middle. It has no minars, their place being taken by two stone pillars placed at a short distance in front of the masjid. The building is 130 feet 4 inches long by 23 feet broad outside.[1] The interior is divided into three distinct portions, a centre room and two side rooms. The centre room is 37 feet 4 inches long by 15 feet broad. It is spanned by two arches of 15 feet, which sub-divide it into three compartments, covered by three domes. The side rooms are each 40 feet 6 inches in length by 15 feet in breadth. Each presents five openings in front, with a flat architrave supported on a double row of Hindu pillars, the outer row being square and the inner row round. Down the middle of each room there is a row of four round pillars, and against the back wall a row of square pilasters. The pillars have no bases, and are made up of all kinds of shafts pieced together, some square, some round, some octagonal

A very good view of this mosque has been given by Kittoe[2] who thinks that it may have been "built at the same time with the fort by the Emperor Firoz Shah." Only one

[1] See Plate XXXI for a plan of this masjid.
[2] Illustrations of Indian Architecture, Plate II.

of the stone columns is now standing in front of the masjid; but the position of the second is marked by its broken plinth. The standing pillar is 29 feet high, including the plinth and pinnacle. The shaft is formed of two distinct pieces, the lower part being of reddish sandstone, and the upper part of yellowish sandstone, both from the Chunar quarries. The pillar is square below, with a side of 1 foot 8 inches, octagonal in the middle of the shaft, and round in the upper part; the whole surmounted by a capital and pinnacle, like the *amalaka* fruit and *Kalasa* of a Hindu temple. On the octagonal portion there is a long inscription engraved in Tughra characters, which are difficult to read. I made a copy of it for Mr. Blochmann, whose account of it I now extract from the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society.[1]

"The inscription consists of six lines, of which the second is almost entirely illegible. The historical portions however are clear.

"The inscription commemorates the erection of a mosque in 778, or 1377 A.D., by Ibrâhîm Nâib Bârbak, whom Zîâ-uddin Baranî states to have been Firuz Shah's brother.

"In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. Surely, he will build the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day [Qoran]. And the Prophet (blessings upon him) says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will receive from God every gift. [In the reign of] the king of the kings of the world, the just and great ruler, the lord of the necks of nations, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who professes the exalted creed and seizes the firm handle, who watches over God's faith, protects God's lands, and defends God's servants, who gives the faithful peace and security, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon,......Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shah, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! and in the time of the Malik of the Maliks of the East and of China, the king of kings, the helper of the warring monotheistst, he excellent Imâm, the hope of the age, the general of the present time,......the great Ulugh Ibrâhîm Nâib Bârbak, the king,—may God continue to him his high position! (this building) received the distinction of being erected, and this Prince, whose walk of life is good and whose faith is pure, exerted himself to the utmost to finish this religious edifice. In the exalted month of Zil Qâdah and in the year 778 of the Flight of the Prophet, upon whom rest God's blessings [April, 1376].

"Shamsi'Afif has a long chapter on Ibrâhim Naib Bârbak, in which he says that he was so attached to his brother Firuz Shah and the latter to him, that both slept in the same room, waited for each other when commencing to chew betel, and that he died before Firuz Shah."

In Khair-uddin's History of Jaunpur[2] translated by Pogson, page 41, the date of this inscription is assigned to the year

[1] Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1875, Proceedings p. 14.
[2] The history of Jaunpur translated by Pogson, p. 41.

A. H. 798, the author having read tisâin = 90, instead of Sabâin = 70.

The Atâla Masjid was also the work of Ibrâhim Shah during the early part of his reign. It was built on the site of the Hindu temple of *Atâla Devi*, which is said to have been the work of Jaya Chandra Deva, the last of the Rathor Princes of Kanauj. The circumstances attending the destruction of the temple are so vividly related by the Muhammadan historian, that they are best given in his own words. The bigoted intolerance of Muhammadanism has never been better illustrated than by the triumphant tone in which the writer describes the most outrageous acts of tyranny and oppression which these Sharki kings exercised on their Hindu subjects :—

"When Firoz Shah destroyed the temple of *Karâr Bîr* and laid the foundation of the fort, he went one day to the top of a hillock, and saw the *Dewal Atâla* afar off. Actuated by a zeal for the faith, he ordered it to be pulled down immediately; thousands of people were employed with pickaxes in effecting its destruction. The Hindus of the neighbouring country, who had expected such a day, assembled from all parts and directions, violently attacked the workmen, and pelted the Emperor with stones. His attendants, who were few in number, rushed on the mob numerous as ants and locusts, and many of them tasted the draught of martyrdom.

"Until the news reached Zafarâbâd and the powerful armies could make ready for war, the Hindus were victorious, and the road of flight did not remain to favour the escape of Musalmans. But when the brave faithful arrived, an order for slaughter was issued. In the twinkling of an eye, thousands of infidels became the food of the dog of death. The river Gûmti was red with their blood. But, according to the expression of some poet, 'When the little ants are unanimous, they devour the skin of the ferocious lion.' Notwithstanding the slaughter, these seditious people did not in the least refrain from rebellion. They collected crowd by crowd, and troop by troop, from the villages, country, and provinces, and salamander-like crept into the fiery sphere of the swords.

"The Emperor wishing to conciliate the hearts of the people of this district, and anxious to render Jaunpur populous, did not think it expedient to continue to struggle with and oppose the mob. He therefore invited the Hindu chiefs to come to him, soothed and comforted them, and after much conciliation, the preliminaries of peace were established. It was agreed that the Emperor should not destroy the ancient temples, and that the Hindus should not build any new ones; that whatever might be broken of the *Dewal Atâla*, should remain so; that the Emperor's workmen should not injure its stones, and that the Hindus should neither repair it, worship there, nor sound the *nakus* (or "shell"). With a view of quieting the tumult of the time, the Emperor ratified these articles, gave the treaty to the

Hindus, and went himself to Delhi. After several years had elapsed, the Musalmans assembled in a great multitude from the neighbouring districts and country; the strength of the Hindus had therefore diminished, and their zeal had abated. During the period of the Government of Sultân Ibrâhim, the Hindus were prohibited openly worshipping idols, sounding *nakus*, and leaving their houses in the rainy season for the purpose of burning their dead on the banks of the river near the city. He also levied a tax on them, and at length, in the year of the Hijri 806 (or A.D. 1403-04), ordered them to leave Jaunpur, and to take up their residence in its vicinity. Their houses were given to the professors of the faith, and the Hindus, being without friend or assistant, were obliged to abandon their homes and to reside in the circumjacent villages.

'The Sultân then gave an order for the destruction of the *Dewal Atala*, the Dewal of Bijay Mandal (which was near a reservoir), and the Dewal of Chachakpur, which was on the bank of the river at Mukat Ghât. He also commanded that mosques should be built on their foundations.[1]

"Of all the mosques remaining at Jaunpur, the Atâla Masjid is the most ornate and the most beautiful."[2] Such is Fergusson's judgment, in which I most heartily agree. The general design of the masjid is similar to that of the great mosques at Delhi and Ajmer; but its style of ornamentation belongs to the later period of the Alai-Darwâza at Delhi. In plan it is a quadrangle, surrounded by cloisters of two storeys on three sides, with the masjid itself on the west side. The whole block of building is 252 feet long from north to south by 248 feet broad outside, the court-yard inside being 176 feet by 160 feet.[3] The grand feature of the masjid is the highly decorated propylon, or great central arch, with a smaller propylon on each side of it. When I visited Jaunpur in the end of 1865, the upper part of the great propylon had fallen down; but at the time of my last visit I found that this had been completely restored at the cost of Mûnshi Haider Husen, who had been spending Rs. 100 a month upon the work for some years. The new work is a strict repetition of the older portion, as may be seen by a comparison of the two accompanying sketches made from photographs which were taken before and after the restoration. The propylon, as it now stands, is 74¾ feet high, with a base of 54½ feet, and a top breadth of 45 feet, showing a slope in the walls of 6 inches in 9 feet, or 1 foot in 18.

The masjid proper is divided into five compartments; the central room covered by a dome 30 feet in diameter, one long

[1] History of Jaunpur, pp. 44, 45, 46.
[2] History of Indian Architecture, p. 524.
[3] See Plate XXXII for the plan of the Atâla Masjid.

room of a single storey 62 feet by 32 feet on each side, and two low rooms in each corner. These corner rooms are out off from the rest of the building; and as they are furnished with a private entrance from the outside, I have no doubt that they were intended for the accommodation of the ladies of the royal family.

The arrangement of the central room is very peculiar, as it is oblong in shape, although covered by a hemispherical dome. The room is 35 feet 1 inch in length by 29 feet 11 inches in breadth. I was puzzled at first by this difference in the measurements, and thought that I had made some mistake in my notes. But on returning to the masjid, I discovered that the difference was rectified by projecting huge corbels from the four side piers and four corners, so as to make the space to be covered by the dome an exact square. Whether this was the result of accident or design, I could not determine. It is not impossible that the difference may have been caused by the retention of some portion of the foundations of the old temple. The dome was considerably lower than the top of the propylon, but it could be seen indistinctly from the front, through the trellises of the small windows which decorated the screen wall under the great arch. These trellises have been omitted in the restorations; but as they would add greatly to the ornate appearance of the propylon, I wish that they could be restored also.

In the cloisters behind each smaller propylon, there is a hexagonal opening covered by a dome. Here also I found the same curious departure from the true hexagonal figure, as the space to be covered by the dome is 22 feet in the direction from north to south, but only 19½ feet in the other two directions. This difference was corrected by the use of large projecting brackets from the north and south pillars, which reduced the space to be domed to the shape of a regular hexagon of six equal sides.

In the middle of each of the other four sides of the quadrangle, there is a gateway, with an octagonal room in the cloisters in front of the northern and southern gates. Opposite each of these gates the cloisters have only one storey, in which the pillars are formed by two Hindu shafts placed one above the other to gain the necessary height. Outside the back walls of the cloisters there is a row of rooms facing outwards, with a verandah beyond supported on coupled square pillars. These rooms were let out to shopkeepers, and their rent formed one of the surest sources of income for the Mullahs

attached to the mosque. In the double-storeyed portion of the cloisters, the aisles are extended outwards over the shops and their verandahs, thus forming five lines of open aisles, supported on pillars. In the lower storey all the pillars are square, but in the upper storey the four central rows of shafts are round, the two outer lines alone being square.

The gateways were similar in design to the central part of the masjid, each presenting a lofty propylon outside with a dome completely hidden behind it. All the domes were panelled on the outside by perpendicular ribs which gave a rich play of light and shade to the hemispherical masses. These ribs have unfortunately been omitted in the restorations.

In the account of the building of this masjid which I have previously quoted, it is stated that, in the year A.H. 806, all the Hindus were turned out of Jaunpur, and their houses given to Muhammadans. Ibrâhim Shah then destroyed the three temples of Atala Devi, Bijay Mandar, and Châchakpur, and ordered mosques to be erected on their foundations. From this account we learn that the building of the Atâla Masjid must have been begun about A.H. 806, or A.D. 1403-04. This date is confirmed by some short inscriptions on the pillars which were evidently recorded by the masons who were employed on the building. One of these is simply " Samvat 1464."[1] A second is longer, and is engraved in three lines on the right jamb of the northern gate outside :—

Samvat 1464 Samapt.
Sutradhâra Padumavi.
Saï Sutradhâra suta.

Taking *Samapt* for *Samâpt*," finished," we learn that the building of the Atâla Masjid was " completed in the Samvat year 1464, or A.D. 1407, by the mason Padumavi, son of the mason Saï." A third record in two lines, on one of the square pillars in the lower storey, is equally explicit :—

Samvat 1464.
Buniâdi pari.

" In Samvat 1464 this building was finished." *Buniâdi pari* is a common expression used at the present day. These simple

[1] See Plate XXXVII. It occurs on a pillar of the south side, exterior row. The Samvat year 1464 began on the 10th March 144 A.D. and ended on the 27th of February 1407. The Hijra year 806 began on the 21st July 1403 A.D. and ended on the 9th July 1404.

masons' records not only fix the completion of the masjid in the Samvat year 1464, or A.D. 1407, but they establish the fact that the architect was a Hindu named *Padumavi*. This alone is sufficient to account for the mixture of the Muhammadan arch and Hindu architrave which Fergusson has so strikingly pointed out in all these Jaunpur buildings:—

"Instead of being fused together, as they afterwards became, the arcuate style of the Moslems stands here, though, in juxta-position, in such marked contrast to the trabeate style of the Hindus that some authors have been led to suppose that the pillared parts belonged to ancient Jaina or Buddhist monuments, which had been appropriated by the Muhammadans and converted to their purposes. The truth of the matter appears to be that the greater part of the Muhammadans in the province at the time the mosques were built were Hindus converted to that religion, and who still clung to their native forms when these did not clash with their new faith; and *the masons were almost certainly those whose traditions and whose taste inclined them much more to the old trabeate forms* than to the newly-introduced arched style." [1]

In this extract the true cause of the mixture of style has been most acutely divined by Fergusson, and we may now say with absolute certainty that the masons who built the Atâla Masjid were Hindus. It seems probable, however, that the great abundance of Hindu pillars and architraves obtained from the overthrown temples may have been a very powerful motive for their use in the construction of the mosque. The shafts were ready with their capitals and their beams, and could be set up at once without much trouble, whereas the adoption of arches and vaults would have necessitated the cutting of thousands of voussoirs, which would have delayed the work very much.

This "curious admixture of Hindu and Muhammadan sculpture and style" did not escape the notice of Kittoe, but his notice is confined to this one remark.

I agree with Fergusson in discarding all idea that the cloisters of these mosques are the remains of Buddhist or Jaina monasteries, which have been simply appropriated by the Muhammadans and converted to their purposes. But I think that the pillars themselves scarcely bear out his opinion that—

"nine-tenths at least of the pillars in these mosques were made at the time they were required for the places they now occupy." [2]

[1] History of Indian Architecture, p. 521.
[2] History of Indian Architecture, p. 521, Note 1.

I made a very careful examination of the pillars of the Jaunpur Masjids, and I found that a *very great number* of the square pillars had been cut down by the Muhammadans from round pillars, as shown by the traces of flowers and mouldings which still remain upon them. Where square pillars with indented angles were utilised, their ornamented faces still remain intact. I found also numerous beams with flowered, and diapered, and other, ornaments built into the walls. Other pillars betray their Hindu origin by the presence of socket holes for iron cramps. During the repairs and restoration of the great propylon, numerous Hindu figures were found. Amongst them there is a standing four-armed female statue, 2 feet 10½ inches in height, draped from the navel downwards; also a door-jamb with three seated female figures holding *trisuls*, or tridents, and therefore presumably *joginis*, or female demons, connected with the worship of Siva.

The next mosques in point of age are those which were built by order of Ibrâhim Shah on the sites of temples of Bijay Chand and Jay Chand. According to Khair-ud-din, the mosque of *Khâlis-mukhlis* was erected on the former site.[1] Malik Khâlis and Malik Mukhlis are said to have been the chief nobles of Sultân Ibrâhim, by whom they were appointed to the Government of Jaunpur, and ordered to destroy the temple for the purpose of erecting "an exalted mosque on the spot for the devotion" of the pious Sayid Usmân of Shirâz. Mukhlis Khan was the brother of Ibrâhim, and commanded the army sent to reduce Etâwa in A.H. 830.[2] As the mosque was built during his governorship of Jaunpur, it is most probable that its date is somewhat earlier, or about A.H. 820, A.D. 1417. Very little of this mosque now remains in its original condition, except the great propylon, which is 67 feet 10 inches broad at base, with a broken arch of 25 feet span. The lower part up to a height of 30 feet is built of stone, above which all is made of large bricks. Behind the propylon there is a square enclosure, 65 feet 8 inches in depth, covered with a flat roof supported on ten rows of Hindu pillars, said to be 114 in number. The whole seems to be a re-arrangement of modern times, so as to make a compact building out of the remaining ruins of the ancient masjid. Khair-ud-din describes how the *bricks* of the western wall had separated, and the wall itself had become ruinous at the back. The wall itself is 5 feet thick.

[1] History of Jaunpur, p. 54.
[2] Briggs' Ferishta, I, 520.

The mosque at Châchakpur is more commonly known as the *Zanziri Masjid*, on account of the "chain-like" appearance of its ornamentation.[1] Nothing now remains except the great propylon, of which a very good sketch has been published by Kittoe.[2] The masjid was built by order of Ibrahim Shah on the site of a famous Hindu temple of Jay Chand, close to the *Mukat-ghât*, on the Gûmti river. This was the great bathing-ghat, where the bathers received absolution (S. *Mukta* = "release") from their sins. Here the land is so fertile from the rich deposits left by the overflows of the Gûmti river, that it is known by the name of *Son-bârish*, or the "Shower of Gold." The mosque was much smaller than any of the others, but the front of the propylon yields to none of them in richness and beauty of ornamentation. The base of the propylon was 35 feet 7 inches in breadth, with an arch of 23 feet 9 inches span. The style of decoration is similar to that of the Atâla Masjid. According to Khair-ud-din, the eastern gate and the side walls of the mosque were destroyed by Sikandar Lodi, and other parts were afterwards thrown down by the inundations of the Gûmti river. Many of the stones are said to have been used in building the great bridge during the reign of Akbar; and since then its ruins have been a common and convenient quarry for every one who wanted building stones:—

> "To put this mosque in its former condition," says Khair-ud-din, "would require a great sum of money, although even that would not be considered much in the sight of a lord *with a heart like a river*, and full of bounty as the clouds!"[3]

The *Jâmi Masjid*, or, to give its full title, the *Masjid Jâmi-ush-shark*, is the largest mosque at Jaunpur. According to Khair-ud-din, its erection was ordered for the convenience of Hazrat Khwâja Isa, a holy saint, who used to suffer much during his walk to the Khâlispur Masjid every Friday. The foundation was laid in A.H. 842, or A.D. 1438, "but it was not raised above the level of the ground in 844, when the king died."[4] It is said that the date of the completion of the mosque was found in the words "*Masjid Jâmi-ush-shark*," which were engraved on the front of the eastern gate. This would fix the date in A.H. 852, during the reign of Mahmud Shah Sharki. But Khair-ud-din says that the work was at a

[1] See Plate XXXI for plans of the Khâlis Mukhlis and Zanziri Masjids.
[2] Illustrations of Indian Architecture, Plate 12.
[3] History of Jaunpur, p. 56.
[4] History of Jaunpur, p. 50.

stand-still during the reign of Mahmud Shah Sharḳi, and was only finished by Husen Shah after a seven years' famine. Accordingly some people say that the inscription on the eastern gate was—

Ul Masjid Jâmi-ush-sharḳ,

which would make the date 883 A.H. Khair-ud-din objects to this date, on the ground that the rule of the Sharḳi kings had then ceased; but Husen Shah's final defeat and abandonment of Jaunpur did not take place until 884, as Khair-ud-din himself states in another place.[1] I think it probable that 883 is the true date, because the people generally believe that the building of the mosque was completed by Husen Shah—a fact which may have been handed down in the family of the Sharki kings, whose descendants still exist in Jaunpur.

The plan of the Jami Masjid is essentially the same as that of the Atâla Mosque; but there are many differences of detail, of which the most marked is the high platform on which it stands, all the other masjids being raised but little above the ground-level. This is well seen in the view of the south gate which is given by Fergusson. Another difference is the piling up the cloisters to the height of three storeys on each side of the gateway. The shafts of the pillars are all square and plain, and were no doubt chiefly obtained from the quarries of Chunar. But I observed on many of them the socket holes for iron cramps, which tell their own tale of having been brought from some earlier building. What that building was is placed beyond all doubt by the figures of Maha Deva and Brahmâ, which I found built into the walls. There is also a third figure built into the outer wall of the northern gateway with the head downwards. The fact is that the stones of all the early Muhammadan masjids were derived from the same source of ruined Hindu temples. When that supply failed, the builders were compelled to use bricks, as in the upper part of the propylon of the *Khâlis-Mukhlis* Mosque, or to go to the quarries of Chunar, as in the present case of the Jâmi Masjid of Jaunpur.[2]

The masjid proper is 250 feet long by 58 feet broad. It is divided into five distinct compartments, the great domed

[1] History of Jaunpur, compare p. 15 and p. 52.

[2] There is a remarkable example of the failure of Hindu materials in the Adina Masjid of Sikandar at Hazrat Pandua, near Gaur. The masjid is 500 feet in length, and the stones come to an end at the height of 12 feet, above which line the walls of the masjid are made of brick. The carved stone, which has elicited the praise of one of the London Reviewers as a fine specimen of Muhammadan art, is actually the shaft of a Hindu pillar placed in a *horizontal* position.

room, 40 feet square, being in the middle, with a pillared room at each end 50 feet long by 40 feet broad. The names for these different compartments are derived from the style of their roofs. The central room is called *gumbaz*, or "the dome"; the pillared rooms are called *chhât*, or "flat roofs"; and the end rooms are called *chhapra*, or the "vaults." In front of the central room rises the great propylon to a height of 85 feet 3 inches, with a base of 80 feet. The height of the arch alone is 73 feet 6 inches. It must be remembered also that this lofty entrance to the masjid stands on an elevated platform, which has a staircase of 27 steps leading up to it from the street of the city. Altogether it rises to a height of more than 100 feet, and towers over the city, forming a more conspicuous object than the fort itself. Perhaps the best points of view are from different parts of the railway embankment, where it crosses the valley of the Gûmti.

The flat-roofed compartments on each side of the central domed room have two storeys. The upper rooms are provided with trellises which look into the domed room in the centre and vaulted rooms at the ends; and must therefore have been intended for the use of the ladies of the king's family. Access to these rooms is obtained by staircases in the massive piers of the great arch. The staircases are continued upwards to the roofs of the flat rooms, from which there is a continuous passage in the thickness of the wall all round the centre room, with openings just below the spring of the dome. According to Kittoe, this dome is "a wonderful piece of workmanship, the exterior shell being many feet apart from that of the interior, and is formed of different segments of a circle." There must be some arrangement of this kind, as by my measurements the top of the dome outside is 67 feet 3 inches, while in the inside it is only 55 feet 3 inches, showing a difference of 12 feet. As this is much too great for the top thickness of a single dome, I conclude that there are two thin domes, each of about 3 feet in thickness at top, thus leaving an empty space between them of 6 feet in height. Both domes appear to me to be true hemispheres, but struck from different centres.

The court-yard of the mosque is a square of 219 feet by 217 feet. In the middle of each side there is a large gateway that on the east being 48 feet by 46 feet, and those on the north and south sides 43 feet by 41 feet. The eastern gateway is a complete ruin, having been purposely destroyed by Sikan-

dar Lodi. The other two gates are much injured, but the domes and main walls are still standing. Fergusson has given a very good view of the south gateway, in which will be seen the two pilasters of the *projecting portions* of the cloisters on each side of the gateway, which are omitted in his plan.[1] The whole ground covered by the quadrangle and gateways covers a space 320 feet in length from east to west by 307 feet from north to south.

The cloisters to the north and south have eleven openings on each side of the gateway, with two aisles in the two upper storeys, and a row of rooms, or shops, facing outwards in the lowest story. On each side of the gateways the cloisters are extended outwards by two more rows of pillars, both in width and depth as shown in my plan.[2]

To the north of the northern gateway, at a distance of 11 feet, lies the khângâh, or burial-ground, of the Sharki kings, 120 feet in length by 60 feet in breadth. Here are the tombs of Ibrâhim Shah and his son and grandson Mahmud Shah and Husen Shah. His other grandson Muhammad Shah lies at Dâlmau.

The mosque of Bibi Râji, or, as it is more commonly called, the *Lâl Darwâza Masjid,* stands near the village of Begamganj at some distance outside the city to the north-west. *Bibi Râji*, the founder of the mosque, was the Queen of Mahmud Shah, who reigned from A.H. 844 to 863, or A.D. 1444 to 1459. She outlived her husband for many years, and died at Etâwa in A.H. 822, or A.D. 1477. According to Khair-ud-din—

she was an intelligent and clever woman, and during the reign of her husband possessed regal authority and an accurate knowledge of the affairs of State. She built a beautiful mansion for her own residence outside the fortification of the city, to the north of, and parallel with, the palace of the Badi Manzil.[3] She also erected in that neighbourhood a magnificent Jâmi Mosque, a college, and a monastery, and gave those buildings the name of *Namâzgâh*. She also built a high gate of 'red stone' *(Lâl Darwâza)* near the enclosure of her own house, and appropriated sums of money for the support of the learned and students of the sciences."

[1] History of Indian Architecture, p. 522. Woodcuts 290 and 291.

[2] See Plate XXXIII, where the plan of the projecting portion is marked by the letters C, D, E, F.

[3] The date given in Pogson's translation of Khair-ud-din's History is A.H. 806, for which he gravely gives the year A.D. 1403, without seeing that there must be an error of 40 or 50 years. The true date is either 846 or 856, during the period of her husband's reign.

With the exception of the mosque, the whole of these buildings were ordered to be thrown down by Sikandar Lodi, and now nothing remains of them but the name of *Lâl Darwâza*.

The mosque of Bibi Râji is the smallest of all the Jaunpur Masjids, the outside dimensions of the quadrangle being only 212 feet by 188 feet, or less than one-half of the area covered by the Jâmi Masjid. The general design and style of the building are similar to those of the other masjids, but the walls are much thinner, and the whole building is on a lighter and less massive scale.

The masjid proper is 177 feet in length by 139 feet in breadth outside, with the usual proplyon or pyramidal entrance, 45 feet broad and 57 feet high, in front of the central dome. The dome itself is only 22 feet 8 inches in diameter, but in front of it there is an entrance hall, which is wanting in the other masjids. The rooms on each side are four aisles in depth, and are formed entirely of pillars covered by architraves without a single arch. On each side of the propylon there are five openings into the court-yard, and two into the north and south cloisters of the quadrangle. The whole of the cloisters are only one storey in height, with the exception of two portions to the right and left of the centre room, which consist of two low storeys, and are separated from the rest by trellises. These rooms were doubtless intended for the ladies of the court.

On the other three sides of the quadrangle the cloisters are two aisles in depth, with a row of shops outside the walls. In the middle of each face there is a gateway of the same style as the propylon. The eastern gate is 28 feet broad, and the other two gates 26 feet.

In the aisles of the masjid the pillars are all square, with double capitals for the purpose of obtaining height. In the cloisters the shafts of the middle row of pillars are all round. The square shafts in the masjid seem to have been fresh stones from the Chunâr quarries; but most of the pillars in the cloisters, both square and round, have been plundered from Hindu temples. Bracket-capitals have been recut and adapted to smaller shafts; square shafts have been rounded, and several inscriptions have been partly cut away in these alterations. There is one record of Samvat 1120 odd, of which a few letters of five different lines still remain on a narrow strip, all the rest of the original flat surface having been cut away to form a round shaft. A second inscription of Vijaya Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated in Samvat 1225, which was

recorded on a bracket-capital, has lost all the name of the king, except *Chandra Deva*, by the cutting away of the face of the bracket to fit it to a smaller shaft. In this case the portions cut away are two opposite bracket faces for a length of 3½ inches. These portions are betrayed by the rough chisel marks left on the sides of the adjacent faces, which have thus obtained an increase of projection to the extent of 3½ inches. This was accordingly placed outwards for the support of the eaves. The date of the inscription shows that it belongs to the time of Vijaya Chandra Deva, and accordingly I have filled in the missing letters of his name on the right hand of the first line. These few letters just occupy the 3½-inch space which was cut away.[1]

A still more important inscription, which occupies two faces of an octagonal pillar, is dated in the Samvat year 1353, or A.D. 1296. This records the building of the temple of Padmeswara Deva on the north side of the gate of Visvesvara.[2] It seems probable, therefore, that the *Lâl Darwâza*, or "Red Gateway," of Bibi Râji may have occupied the same site as the *Visveswara* Gateway of the Hindus. But what has become of the Padmeswara temple? May we not look for its traces in the arcades of Bibi Râji's mosque? There are numerous other Hindu remains, which not only preceded the Padmeswara temple, but also that of Vijaya Chandra Deva. I have already noticed a line containing a man's name, *Sri Ucha Varmma*, which is as old as the 8th century There is also a record of ten lines dated in Samvat 1297, or A.D. 1240; but perhaps the most valuable inscription is the simple record of the architect, which is cut on one of the pillars of the north side, *Vishnu Sut Kamâü Silpi*, or "Vishnu's son Kamâü, the architect."[3] Here we have another proof of the truth of Fergusson's remark that the cause of the admixture of Hindu and Muhammadan styles in the Jaunpur masjids was the employment of Hindu masons. In the Atâla Masjid record, the Hindu *Padumavi*, we have only the modest title of *Sutradhâra*, or mason; but in the present instance the Hindu *Kamâü* boldly takes the title of *Silpi*, which might be assumed by a head mason or architect, but which is certainly never borne now-a-days by a common mason.

The Lâl Darwâza is more decidedly Hindu than any of the other mosques. The dome and the great entrance and

[1] See Plate XXXVII, No. 2.
[2] See Plate XXXVII, No. 3.
[3] See Plate XXXV, No. 4.

the three gates are the only arched constructions in the whole building. All the other roofing is flat throughout, and even the pendentives of the dome are formed by flat stones gradually overlapping each other.

The only Muhammadan inscription in the masjid is the *Kalimeh*, or Musalman creed, engraved in very large letters on a black stone, which is placed a short distance under the great arch. The Arabic letters A and L occupy the full height of the slab, upwards of 2 feet, and are arranged quite parallel to one another, like the bars of a gridiron. This seems to have been a favourite fashion at Jaunpur, as the inscriptions on most of the gold coins of all the kings are arranged in the same manner. It became fashionable also in Bengal about the same period.

There are several curious old tombs scattered about Jaunpur, which most probably belong to the period of the Sharki Kings. The oldest and most curious of these is an open building without name at Zafarâbâd. In plan it is a square platform of 20 feet, with 12 Hindu pillars supporting a low entablature, above which there is a small squat dome. There are two varieties of pillars, but their shafts agree in being octagonal below, sixteen-sided in the middle, and circular at top. They are 4 feet 9 inches in height, and from 15 to 16 inches in diameter. The capitals are all round, the upper part being like a tulip-shaped bowl. Above there are bracket-capitals, making the total height beneath the architraves 7 feet 7 inches. I saw many pillars of the same pattern lying near the Makhdûm's Dargâh at Zafarâbâd.

Near the same place there are a couple of small octagonal tombs, standing close together, which are commonly known as the "Two Sisters." These also are open buildings standing on Hindu pillars with octagonal shafts, and finely-carved capitals surmounted by the usual bracket-capitals. The superstructure is also eight-sided, with openings on the alternate sides and a battlement above, from which springs a Pathan dome with rather steep sides and a flattish top. A large portion of one of the tombs has fallen down, and the two fallen pillars have been carried away; but the broken dome is still held together by good mortar, and the building will probably last for some time to come.

There are other tombs of a later date at Katgarha, which the people attribute to the time of Bahlol Lodi, but which Kittoe says are the resting places of Biluchi noblemen of the time of Akbar. One of them, the more prominent one in

out by the road of the *Nakhas*; but they could not draw out that which remained in the hole by any kind of contrivance. They therefore mad many strong and stout boats, brought them to the spot, and piled them up with stones made fast with lead. These boats were chiefly supported by anchors and ropes, by which they were let slowly down. When one boat had sunk, another was placed in the same way on the top of it, and so on until a platform was raised above the water. They then prepared several more of the same kind, and united them to each other with large beams of brass, 20 yards in length, and prepared at the expense of thousands of rupees. Both sides of these beams were made fast with lead and iron. On this foundation they commenced the building, and completed three arches. A poet found the date of it in the words 'with pleasure.' Khân Khânân therefore rewarded him with 972 gold mohars. After this the other arches were completed and small apartments and shops built over them."

The bridge was not completed until A.H. 975, when inscriptions in verse were placed on every pier giving the date and the name of the builder. All the dates are expressed in short phrases, of which by far the best is *Pul Muhammad Munim Khân*, or "Bridge of Muhammad Munim Khan," which gives the date of 975 A.H., or A.D. 1567, according to the *abjad* powers of the letters. Most of these inscriptions have now perished or become partially obliterated. Those on the last two piers at the northern end are still nearly perfect, and in both of them I read the date of A.H. 975.

The bridge consists of two distinct portions separated by an island. When the position was selected, there was only one stream, deep and unfordable; but the architect having diverted the river into another channel, which he had dug a short distance to the south, found himself unable to close it, when the bridge over the river was finished. He was therefore obliged to build a second bridge over the diversion channel, a lucky accident which has most probably been the means of the permanent safety of the whole structure, as the water way has been increased by upwards of 90 feet.

The Jaunpur bridge is certainly one of the most picturesque structures in India. Its long line of arches and piers, all of the same size, is relieved by the light pillared rooms which crown the ends of the piers on both sides, and form a handsome street of detached shops. The roadway is 26 feet in clear width with a solid stone parapet of 2 feet 3 inches on each side The whole length of the bridge, according to my measurements, is 654 feet 3 inches. The main bridge to the north, consists of ten pointed arches of 18 feet 3 inches span, resting on piers of 17 feet, with abutments of half the thickness. The smaller bridge to the south has only five arches of

the same span as the others, and with similar piers and abutments. The island between the two is 125 feet 6 inches broad. The whole length is, therefore, made up as follows:—

	Feet.	Inches.
Northern bridge	352	6
Island	125	6
Southern bridge . . .	176	3
TOTAL . .	654	3

On the side of the roadway crossing the island, there is a large stone figure of the fabulous *Sinha*, or gigantic lion, standing over a small elephant, which must have been brought from one of the Hindu temples. There is no inscription on it; but from the stiff wooden style of the sculpture, the straight legs, the regular rows of hair in the mane, like those of a lawyer's wig, it cannot be old work, and may very probably have belonged to one of the temples built by the Rathor Râjâs of Kanauj.

The great fault of the Jaunpur bridge is the extreme massiveness of the piers, a fault that is common to all native Indian bridges. Here we have arches of 18 feet 3 inches span with piers of 17 feet; so that the amount of obstruction offered to the stream is just equal to the waterway. The bridge is, therefore, half weir and half free passage. The same arrangement has been adopted in the two great bridges over the Sindh river near Gwalior, and over the two small streams of the Kâli Veh and Dhauli Veh in the Jâlandhar Doab; and in all these four instances one end of the bridge has been carried away. The Jaunpur bridge has most probably been saved from a similar fate by the addition of the second bridge of five arches on the south side. But exactly the same amount of additional waterway might have been obtained for the first bridge of ten arches by taking 10 feet from each of the nine piers, thus increasing the span of the arches from 18 feet to 27 feet, and leaving each pier 7 feet thick.

The bridge has been repeatedly submerged in the rainy season; and one instance is recorded of a fleet of boats having passed clear over it during the height of the inundation.[1] But this happened towards the end of the last century, before the present parapets were added by the British Government.

[1] In A. D. 1774. Hodges' Travels in India, p. 149

The few inscriptions that have been found at Jaunpur were discovered by myself in the different Muhammadan masjids. No doubt every Hindu temple had the history of its foundation recorded on its walls; but the wholesale destruction of the temples by the Muhammadans was so complete, that nothing now remains of them, save the stones which have been built into the masjids. From these I obtained the few specimens given in the accompanying plate.[1]

No. 1 is found on one of the lower voussoirs of the outer arch of the south gate of the Jâmi Mâsjid. It is 15 inches long by 12½ inches broad, but it has been cut away on the left hand and below, to make it fit into its place in the arch. This is the more unfortunate, as it is certainly of early date, most probably about the 8th century, and records the history of Râjâ Iswara Varmma. Amongst other achievements is mentioned his victory over Chandra Sena, apparently in the Vindhya hills (Vindhyâdri). The characters of the inscription are exactly the same as those of the Jhâlra Pâṭan inscription published by Dr. Bühler, which is dated in Samvat 746.[2] If this is the Vikramâditya Samvat, the date will be A.D. 689; or if it is the Saka Samvat, it will be A.D. 824 :—

1.—riksha yagala || dorbhyâmâlma bhuvo dharaḥ saha bhuve kshattrâ lâlabdhâtmanâ vistari.

2.—Dam yini sukharâoâm bhuja bhujamenchavaye-sakala purusha suktivyakta sâ pratâpo.

3.—da karmmaṇâyâjnya. darma vitâna mendhati lipâḥ punyâm vitenedeve||

4.—laka srastalakâgrakulaḥ tasya dikshivita tamala kirttirâtmajo nirpatir Iswara Varmmâ.

5.—sânarâga samitakurâga samudra veblakânanda + karerguṇogaṇa vatâm konâm.

6.—dhishchiâm kshti bhujâm sinâmhena + sinha sanam dhârâmârgga vinirgatâgnikalokâ.

7.— + dala|| Vindhyâdreḥ pratirandhrahpati + nâsamkapâreṇâ sitamyato Raivatakâchalam.

8.— + samvâranânâm ghaṭ asuvyâpte sutkhâta khargadyuti khachita bhujosh Chandra Senâ bhatoshu.

9.— + ra pardâta saliḷaiḥ snâtam ṣilâgandhibhiḥ Praleyâdri bhuvaṣcha ṣitapayaṣaḥ prandho.

10.—+ re abhirgiri sarit prarormi bhargâkulai rut sarppadminaparage pidivaso yasapa.

The loss of the left half of this inscription precludes the possibility of any connected and continuous translation. But

[1] See Plate XXXVII.
[2] Indian Antiquary, V, 180

enough remains to show that the verses recorded the praises of King *Iswara Varmma* (the father's name is lost), whose power extended to the sea, a giver of pleasure to men of learning and science, sitting as a lion on his lion-throne (Sinhâsana), who conquered his enemies in the *Vindhya* mountains, and pushed forward to the *Raivata* mountain, who with clouds of elephants conquered the swordsmen of *Chandra Sena*, and bathed in the river of the Eastern mountains.

It seems not at all improbable that this powerful King Iswara Varmma may be the *I-sha-fu-mo* of the Chinese, who is mentioned as the king of Central India (which includes Benares), in the year 731 A.D.[1]

No. 2 is cut on the face of one of the bracket-capitals of a square pillar in the south cloister of the Lâl Darwâza Masjid. It consists of two lines, which are both incomplete on the right hand, owing to the cutting away of 3½ inches of the face to make the old Hindu bracket fit into its new position in the Muhammadan mansjid. As both the date and last letters of the name are in perfect order, I have been able to complete the missing part with absolute certainty. It reads as follows:—

Samvat 1225, Chaitra badi 5, Budhe, Sri [mat Vijaya Chan] dra Deva Râjye Bhattâraka Sri Bhavi Bhusha [na].

"In the Samvat year 1225 (A. D. 1168), on the 5th of the waning moon of Chaitra, on Wednesday, during the reign of the fortunate Vijaya Chandra Deva, the venerable Bhavi Bhushana (the ornament of the world.)"

The title of Bhattâraka, as spelt in this inscription, means the venerable, or respectable, a term which is applied only to Brahmans. *Bhavi-Bhushana* is therefore the name of a Brahman, who in the year specified had paid his devotions at the temple from whence this stone bracket was brought. We know that the Bijay Mandar, or temple of Vijaya Chandra Deva, stood in this quarter of the city, and it seems probable that many of the pillars and other stones used in Bibi Râji's Masjid, near the Lâl Darwâza, would have been brought from such a convenient quarry.

No. 3 is a much longer inscription in ten lines, cut on two faces of an octagonal pillar in the north cloister of the Lâl Darwâza Masjid. This record is very nearly perfect, excepting in the name of the place at the end of the first line, where the letters are rather indistinct. The date of Samvat 1353

[1] Pauthier in Journal, Asiatique, Novembre 1839, p. 411.

is fortunately quite distinct. It is besides confirmed by the addition of the corresponding year, *Pláva*, of the *Vrihaspati Chakra*, or sixty-year cycle of Jupiter, which by the reckoning used in Northern India was Samvat 1353. I read the record as follows:—

1.—Aum namo Gaṇapatyâ-Yamonyâm
2.—purâ virddhaḥ satyavâksu Jana priyaḥ Si-
3.—dhesapuri vikhyataḥ sarvvasatuahitarattaḥ
4.—dasya putrâ vabhunâtha Sri Sadhu Nidhe tivi ṣru
5.—tâḥ tasyâtmajah suchidhirah Padma Sâdhurathoṣ
6.—bhuvi yasyâm Visveswara-dwâri himâ-diṣi
7.—paropamaḥ Sri Pudmeswarasya Devasya prâsâda
8.—mkarotsudhiḥ Jeshṭha Mâsi site pakshe
9.—dwadasyâm Budhavasare likhiteyam sada
10.—bhâti praṣastiḥ Plava-vatsare samvat 1353.

"Aum-Glory to Ganeṣa! In Yamonya pura (lived) Siḍhesapuri, the wise, the speaker of truth, the beloved of the people, &c., &c. His son was Sâdhu Nidhi, the——————, whose son Padma Sâdhu, on the north side of the *Visveswara Gate*, built the temple of *Padmeswara Deva* on the 12th day of the waxing moon of Jyeshṭha, in the year *Plava*, (and) samvat 1353.

I have already suggested the probability that the Visveswara Gate may have stood on the actual site of the Lâl Darwâza of Bibi Raji, and that the latter was in fact only a revival of the old gate under a new name. I conclude also that the temple of *Pạdmeswara Deva* must have been pulled down by the Muhammadans, either before the time of Bibi Raji or at her instigation, during the reign of her husband Mahmud Shah.

The remaining inscriptions, 4, 5, and 6, have already been discussed in the accounts of the masjids in which they were found.

XXIII —CHUNÁR OR CHARANADRIGARH

The hill fort of *Chunar*, or *Charanâdrigarh*, is too well known to need any description. Its name is said to be derived from a holy foot-print [*Charana*] on the top of the hill. I visited the place for the purpose of examining some caves in which I had heard there were old inscriptions. The principal records are cut in the rock near Kaṃoksha Devis' temple, 1½ miles to the west of the railway station. Some also are cut in the *Durgâ-kho*, or "Durga's cave," near which an annual mela is held on the *Nao-Durgâ*, or ninth day of the Durgâ-puja festival. The cave itself is simply an old quarry, which has been turned into a dwelling by building up two

pillars under the edge of the overhanging rock in front so as to form a room.

The inscriptions are of considerable antiquity, several of them being of the Gupta period, or from 200 to 500 A.D. As might be expected, they are chiefly the personal records of pilgrims who have visited the cave of Durgâ, where she is said to have sprung out of the rock. I have designated them by letters of the alphabet for easy reference:—

A.—Isa-nasha tapasa.

" Iṣa-nasha, the ascetic."

B.—Praṣasta Chanarchâlaka Chandra.

The second word I believe to be intended for *Charanâchalaka*, on the " foot-print hill," here called *Praṣaṣta*, " the best or pre-eminent." It will therefore be only a simple record of—

" Chandra of the excellent Charânachala (Chunar hill).

C.—Putreṇa Subhangkarasya Gangâdatta.

" By the son of Subhangkara Gangadatta."

D.—Ujala-Uja * *

The first name, *Ujala*, is repeated with the initial vowel made long.

E.—Bhagwaloka Chinitta Kudu.

The first word is most probably intended for *Bhagavaloka*, or the dwelling of the gods.

F.—Prachaṇḍa Prithiveka.

Prachaṇḍâ is a title of Durga.

G.—Samavi Devikântâ.

Devikântâ is a man's name, the " beloved by Devi."

The remaining inscriptions are of later date, about 600 to 800 A.D.

H.—Yaṣa-loka.

" The Yasa-loka."

J.—Jamna Dâsa.

Jamna is the colloquial form of Jamuna, or the Jamna river. " The slave of Jamna" is a very common name for a man.

*K.—Kaṣyapati Chada.**

The second letter is doubtful.

L.—Adhama, Chandra, Chapalâ, cha.

These appear to be names only.

M.—Moṇṇa, Mâdhâvâ Bhairo Mâṣâ suchtniya.

I take the first two words to be a man's name, ***Monna Madhava***.

N.—Sri Bhoja Deva Savira.

"The fortunate Bhoja Deva, the Savira."

The Saviras, or Süirs, were a numerous and powerful tribe in former times. All the buildings round the great temple at Bodh-Gaya are attributed to Amar Sinh, Süir. According to Buchanan's information—

"the Suirs seem to have been a powerful people, their Government having extended not only over the whole of Shâhâbâd (Kârusha-deṣa), but certainly over a great part, if not the whole, of what became afterwards the province of Benares."[1]

There are still some in the Benares district who eat pork and drink spirits. Dalton considers them to be the same as the Bhuiyas.[2] I believe them to be the Ṣavaras of Sanskrit writers, and the Sauras, Soriyas, and Sariyas of the present day. In this Chunar record we find one of them assuming the honorific title of Sri somewhere about 800 A.D.

P.—Jaya Samudra.

This may be simply a man's name, or it may mean "victory to Samudra." The characters are as old as those of the earliest Gupta inscriptions.

XXIV.—BELKHARA.

Belkhara is a small village, 1½ miles to the south of Ahrora, and 12 miles to the south-east of Chunâr. Lying in a field near the village there is a stone pillar, 11 feet 7 inches long and 15 inches in diameter, with two inscriptions. Above there is a small figure of Ganeṣa, with a few letters, and between the two inscriptions there is a rude bird and a still ruder horse. The upper inscription of five lines is nearly all illegible, but I have succeeded in reading the greater part of the lower inscription. This record is interesting from its date of Samvat 1253, or A.D. 1196, which is just three years after the final defeat and death of Jaya Chandra, the last Rathor Râjâ of Kanauj. It must have been close about this very date of A.D. 1196 that Mahammad Bakhtiyâr Khalji received the two districts of Bhagwat and Bhüili in fief,[3] together with Patíla and Kuntila, all of which places are in the neighbourhood of Chunar. But the inscription takes no notice whatever of the Muham-

[1] Buchanan's Eastern India, edited by Montgomery Martin, I, 407.
[2] Dalton, Ethnology of Bengal.
[3] Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, by Raverty, pp. 549-550

madan conquest, and speaks of the Hindu kingdom of Kanauj as if it were still in existence. I read the whole as follows:—

1.—Parama bhaṭṭarakatpâdi Râjâdhirâjâ Sweta Rayâswapa-
2.—ti, Gajapati, Narapati, Râjâ Triyadhipati Viswadhara, Vi-
3.—dya vichâra Vachaspati, Sri Mat kanyakubja vijaya
4.—rajye Saṃvat 1253, Vaisâkha Sudi 11 Bhaume-
5.—belkhara palyaṃ palaka Sri Vijaya karṇṇa-râ-
6.—jye Dharmmakâri nâmnâ Mataḥ Râüt Sri Ananda
7.—suta Râüt Sri Sakarûkasya kirtti ratna * *
8.—ghaṭitâcheyaṃ sutradhara Jaluṇena sudhauṃ *
9.—ra, Sri Sakarukasya valabho * ru * *

The latter half of the first line is very much injured, and unfortunately this is the very place where the king's name should have been mentioned, *before* the three titles of *Aswapati*, *Gajapati*, and *Narapati*. We have the simple title of Râja fairly distinct, but after that I can see no trace of *Sri*, which should precede the name. The last three letters of the line can be restored with absolute certainty, as they are known from other inscriptions. The son of Jaya Chandra is called *Set-Râm* by Tod, *Sita-Râm* by Mûkji, and *Sweta Râya* by Dr. Hall's informant. All these various readings are clearly intended for the same name, but they differ utterly from the name which has been handed down by tradition and by song throughout the North-West Provinces. Everywhere the son of Jaya Chandra is called *Lâkhan*, and in song he is known as the *Kanaujiya Rai*. It is not impossible that he may have been carried to Delhi as a prisoner, and there forcibly converted to Muhammadanism;[1] but the popularity of the songs about him which have come down to the present day, would rather point to a prolonged struggle with the Muhammadans as the great leader of the Hindus. It is his name, therefore, that I should expect to find in this inscription, dated only three years after his father's death. It is true that Tod places the migration of Seoji and Saitaram, the grandsons of Jaya Chandra, in the Samvat year 1268; but he gives no authority for this statement, and it is utterly at variance with the date given by Mûkji, the bard of the Khichi Chauhans. I have seen Mûkji's books, which give the date of Samvat 1283 for Seoji's migration. On asking Mûkji's sons whether they knew of any authority for this date, they instantly quoted the following well-known verse in support of it:—

Sihaline Sihâju Mâru Mârdhar deṣ;
Bâra-so-tirâsi, Pâli ke upar parves.

[1] So Tregear was informed. See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, III, 617.

"To the deadly land of Mâru came the lion-like Singhji,
And conquered Pâli in the year twelve and eighty-three."

Here the name is not *Siva*, but *Sinha*, " a lion, " to whom the hero is compared, and according to Mûkji his name was *Sinha Deva*. The same spelling is preserved in another couplet, recording his treacherous defeat of the Pramâra Chief :—

Siho Kanauj-chauke ayo pacham dartı
Hûl Puwâr upar kapyo chatrpati.

" Then westward from Kanauj did Siho bend his way,
" And overthrow the Puwâr Chief upon a Hûli-day."

Altogether I think that the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of *Lakhana*, or Lakshana, being the name of the king at the date of the Belkhara inscription. The following is a translation of the record so far as I have been able to make it out :—

" The supreme ruler * * [Râja Lakhana Deva ?], the lord of horses, lord of elephants, lord of men, king of the three lordships, ruler of the world, equal to Vâchaspati in science, during his victorious reign over Kanyakubja [Kanauj], in the Samvat 1253 [A.D. 1196], on the 11th day of the waxing moon of Vaiṣâkha, on Tuesday, during the rule of the fortunate *Vijaya karnna,* chief of the village of *Belkhara,* for the fame of *Rāüt Sri Sakarū*, son of the Minister *Rāüt Sri Ananda* (this pillar was erected) by the mason Jalunâ. The power of *Sakaruka* (may it increase ?).

The name of the village *Belakhara*, or Belkhara, has survived quite unaltered for nearly seven hundred years. Sakarü is still a common name for a man amongst the lower classes, and the title of *Râüt*, or *Râwat*, is still used for the sons of a petty chief. But it is perhaps just possible that *Râüt*, or *Râwat*, may be the tribal name of the family, as I have found that the *Sabaras* are every where just as well-known as Râüts, or Râwats, as by their own proper name.

XXV.—BHUILI.

The large village of Bhuïli is situated at the northern foot of the Vindhya hills, 20 miles to the south-east of Chunâr. I have already mentioned that this place formed part of the estate given to Muhammad Bakhtiyâr Khalji some time between A.D. 1193 and 1200. There is a ruined fort on the hill above the village. The derivation of the name is not known, but I suspect it to be connected with the great tribe of *Bhuïas*, and that it may be only a slightly altered form of *Bhuïâla*. The Bhuïas are by far the most numerous class in

the Chunâr and Sahsarâm districts. They are evidently the aborigines, or old inhabitants of the country. Buchanan writes the name Bhungihâr; but I believe that the proper appellation is simply *Bhûmia*, or men of the earth, or *autochthones*, a title given to them by the Brahmans. They generally call themselves *Musahar*, which I think points to some connection with the Sahariyas, or Savaras. One great branch amongst them takes the title of *Rikhiâsan*, and claims to be descended from Rikhi-muni, or Sringi-Rikhi.

There is one cave at Bhuili containing two inscriptions. The people call it *kho*, or "cave," but it is simply an enclosure made by three walls under an overhanging rock, with the rock for the back wall. The room is 9 feet 7 inches long by 7 feet 9 inches broad. The inscriptions are cut on the rock inside the cave. One of them is quite illegible, and the other is not very intelligible, but it is curious for its flourishes. I read—

Srî Gangganadre polayâ chahâda chandrevayeh.

In the neighbourhood there are some square stone obelisks, with curious carvings on all four faces. Buchanan has given drawings of three of them.[1] He attributes them to the *Suirs*, or *Siviras*, whom I take to be the *Savaras*, or *Sabaras*, of Sanskrit writers. Similar obelisks were found by him at Baijnâth and Darouli. The scenes sculptured on them are very various :—

"Some," says Buchanan, "seem to represent the ordinary occurrences of life, such as a woman suckling her child, or churning butter, or a porter carrying a load. Others are quite monstrous, such as a man riding on a serpent. A figure often repeated seems to represent a butcher killing a cow or buffalo, for he has the animal suspended with the head down, as if about to remove the skin. From this perhaps we may infer that the Siviras, if they did not eat the ox, at least devoured the buffalo."

At a village called *Hetunpur*, about 9 miles to the east of Ahrora, I found a large number of similar obelisks collected together near a temple. I counted 21 pieces, and I judged that there must have been at least 15 obelisks. I also found similar broken pillars at Mangror, Chayanpur, and other places. The largest of the Hetunpur obelisks was 13 inches square and 5 feet 7½ inches high. It was divided into seven compartments on each face, each containing a small sculp-

[1] Eastern India, Plate IX, fig. 2.

tured scene. There were men and women dancing; a single woman dancing and playing on an instrument; a man killing an animal; a man standing near a house; a man sitting over a prostrate human body with a fish's tail; a large fish, &c. Amongst other scenes I recognised the Vâráha and Narsingh Avatars, the former being a man with a boar's head. The top of the obelisk was crowned with a low pinnacle, like that of a temple.

Amongst the smaller obelisks I noticed several other subjects; such as a sow with six small pigs; a woman lying on a bed; two women with swords and shields; a woman and child churning butter; a man and horse; a woman seated and kissing her child, &c. Along with these there was a large figure of Hanumân treading on a kneeling figure. He had a small sword resting on the right hip; his right hand was placed above his head, and the fore-finger of his left hand was upraised. A similar figure is given by Buchanan from Bhuili.

I believe that Buchanan is right in attributing these monuments to the aboriginal races. Amongst them the principal objects of worship are Hanumân and the great Buffalo-killing goddess. All the aboriginal tribes that I have met with eat the buffalo and the pig, and the common fowl, first offering them to their deities.

There are similar-shaped obelisks at other places, more particularly at Pâthâri in Mâlva, and at Mârkanda in the Chânda district.

XXVI.—SAHSARÂM.

The old town of Sahsarâm is famous as the burial-place of Sher Shah, perhaps the ablest of all the Muhammadan kings of Delhi. The town covers rather more than one square mile, and contains upwards of 20,000 inhabitants. The full name is said to be *Sahasra* + *Arjunapurâ*, because the thousand-armed Haihaya Chief Arjuna died here. His thousand arms are said to have been cut off by Paraṣurâma when he fled with all his followers to this place. Here he died, and his followers gave his name to the town which they had built.

About 2 miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called Chandan-Pîr, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of

the hill. The legend about him seems to have been suggested by that of Sahasra Arjun. A Muhammadan saint living at Benares had his head cut off by a Hindu named Chandan, and he fled away without his head until he reached Sahsarâm. Here he asked a woman for a *pân*, or betel, to eat, but she replied, "what is the use of giving you a *pân* when your head is gone?" on which the holy man at once dropped down dead. The shrine on the top of the hill is called after him, *Chandan-Pír*, and a small cave just below, in which there is one of Asoka's dated inscriptions, is called the Pir's *chirâgh-dân*, or "lamp."

The inscription of Asoka has already been published,[1] and need not therefore be described here. So also has the inscription of Pratâpa Dhavala, which is engraved in characters 2 inches high on the rock close by the figure of Chandi-Devi, about 1 mile to the south of the Chandan-Pír.[2] This inscription is 8 feet long and 14 inches in height.

But the great attraction of Sahsarâm lies in the picturesque tombs of Sher Shah and his family. They are especially remarkable for the great span of their domes, which far exceed all others that I have seen in Northern India. Not one of them approaches the grand dome of Mahmud Shah's tomb at Bijapur; but the dome of Sher Shah's tomb is larger than that of Ibrâhim Shah's Masjid, and some 13 feet wider than the dome of the Tâj Mahal at Agra.

One of the characteristic features of the tombs of the Afghân rulers of India is the general adoption of the octagonal form for the ground plan. In the earlier examples of the tomb of Sikandar Lodi,[3] and of some unknown persons at Khairpur[4] and Mubârakpur, near Delhi, the angles of the octagon are supported by sloping buttresses. But these buttresses were discarded by the architects of the later Afghan kings, as well as in all the tombs of Sher Shah's family. These sloping buttresses form the link between the sloping walls of the Tughlak architecture and the perpendicular walls of the Suri architecture, and may perhaps be a characteristic of the Lodi style.

[1] See Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, p. 141; and Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, Plate XIV, and pp. 95 and 131.

[2] Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II, p. 256.

[3] Sayid Ahmad's Asâr-us-sunâdid, Plate at p. 223.

[4] Fergusson's Indian Architecture, p. 516, gives a very good view of the Khairpur tomb.

The tombs of Sher Shah's family are the following :—

1.—Tomb of Hasan Khan, his father, at Sahsarâm.
2.— „ Sher Shah, at ditto.
3.— „ Islam Shah, his son, at ditto.
4.— „ Ikhtiar Khan at Chayanpur.
5.— „ Mauli Khan near Chayanpur.

1.—The earliest of these must be the tomb of Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah, as it was certainly built during the life-time of the king. But as the two reigns of Sher Shah and his son Islam did not extend beyond fifteen years, the whole of these buildings must have been erected within that period. We have the most convincing proof of this fact in the unfinished state of Islam Shah's tomb, the work having been stopped at the time of his death.

The tomb of Hasan Khan stands in the middle of the town, surrounded by a square enclosure. Externally it is an octagon of two storeys, covered by a rather pointed dome, and surmounted by an ornamental pinnacle, instead of the usual open cupola. Each side of the outer octagon is 40 feet 6 inches long, and has three open pointed arches leading into a verandah or arcade, which runs all round the building. The roof of the arcade has three small domes on each side. These are real domes resting on transverse arches which span the arcade. Above this rises the octagonal body of the building, which is finished with a small cornice and battlement, but is quite plain below. At each angle of the octagon, surrounding the base of the great dome, there is an open cupola supported on six square pillars. The dome itself has been plastered, but the plaster has peeled off in many places, and the whole has now a ragged and unsightly appearance.

As Hasan Khan died before Sher Shah obtained the throne, I conclude that the building of the tomb must have been begun soon after his accession, or about A H. 945, or A.D. 1538.

2.—The tomb of Sher Shah is said to have been begun by himself, and was probably finished, during his life-time, before A.H. 952=A.D. 1545. In its design two novelties have been introduced, which I believe to be due to a Hindu architect. All the previous tombs of the class spring at once from the ground; but this grand mausoleum rises from a square platform of 30 feet in height, which stands in the middle of a large lake about 1,000 feet square.' Both the lofty basement and the surrounding lake are common features of the Hindu temple. It is possible of course that

they might have been adopted by a Muhammadan architect. But when we find them combined with Hindu corbelling and flat architraves in all the inner doorways, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the architect of the tomb must have been a Hindu.

The platform on which the tomb stands is a square of nearly 300 feet side, including the continuous flight of steps which surrounds the foot of the wall. In the middle of each side there is a double flight of steps leading from the level of terrace down to the lake. On the north side there was formerly a bridge 350 feet in length, which formed the entrance to the enclosure. But the bridge disappeared long ago, and for the last hundred years the only access to the tomb has been by means of a raft formed of earthen vessels. But within the last few years a cause-way of earth has been thrown across, and the place has been generally cleared of weeds and rubbish. A few of the stones in the walls have got displaced, but otherwise the building is in very good condition. The pinnacles of all the small domes have disappeared, but their loss was no doubt due to the iron spikes round which they were built.

At each of the four corners of the platform there is a large octagonal turret with a domed roof; and on each side there are two small pyramidal roofed cupolas on slender pillars which stand out boldly from the walls on projecting corbels. These "little bracketted kiosks," as Mr. Fergusson truly says, serve to break the outline very pleasingly. Between the base of the great octagonal building and the walls of the terrace there is a clear space of 40 feet on all sides.

The tomb itself is an octagonal room of 29 feet 7 inches each side, which gives an interior diameter of 71 feet 5 inches. Two direct measurements with a tape made the diameter 71 feet 7 inches. The walls are 16 feet 2 inches thick, with a niche in the west side, and a doorway 8 feet 5 inches wide on each of the other sides. Beyond this there is a verandah, or continuous arcade 10 feet 2½ inches wide, with an outer wall 5 feet 8½ inches in thickness. The outer face of the octagon forming the main body of the tomb is 43 feet, which gives a diameter of 103 feet 9½ inches, compared with 103 feet 11 inches of direct measurement, being 71 feet 7 inches, *plus* twice 16 feet 2 inches, which is the thickness of the walls. Similarly one of the outer faces of the verandah was found to be 56 feet, which gives a total diameter of 135 feet 2 inches. compared with 135 feet 9 inches of direct measurement.

The different faces of the octagons vary slightly in length by as much as 2 or 3 inches, but all the calculations from their sides have been checked by the direct measurement.

The interior of the building is lighted by sixteen windows, in two rows of eight.

In each wall of the arcade there are three pointed arches of 9 feet span, with four lotus flowers in the spandrils. The eaves are supported on massive corbels of Hindu design, below which runs a continuous band of glazed tiles of different colours—dark-blue, light-blue, yellow, and white. The red colour which is mixed with them is not a glaze, but a simple paint. It has, however, lasted very well. The spaces between the corbels also are filled with panels of glazed tiles, chiefly dark-blue on a white ground.

At every angle of both storeys of the building there is an open octagonal cupola covered with a dome. All the domes are divided into panels by narrow lines of white glazed tiles, which are now of a dirty greenish hue, and are not noticeable at any distance. The drum of the great dome has sixteen sides, and its outline is well marked by a continuous line of battlement. Over all rises the great dome itself, the largest in Upper India, crowned by a small pyramidal-roofed cupola on four pillars.

In section the walls of the main body of the tomb consist of three storeys—the lowermost, of eight sides, being 28 feet 6 inches high; the middle one, of sixteen sides, being 25 feet 3 inches, and the upper one, of thirty-two sides, being 12 feet 3 inches high. Adding these three dimensions to that of the plinth, 1 foot 6 inches, the total height of the walls above the platform to the spring of the dome is found to be 67 feet 6 inches, or 66 feet above the floor of the tomb. Again, adding to this the radius of the hemispherical dome, 35 feet 9½ inches, we obtain the height of the interior to be 101 feet 9½ inches. According to one measurement, the dome was found to be 4 feet 2 inches thick. If we allow 4 feet for the thickness of the dome at top, and 16 feet for the extreme height of the square cupola on the top, the total height of the tomb above the terrace, including the plinth, will be 123 feet 3½ inches. As the platform from which the tomb rises is 30 feet high, the total height of the tomb above the lake which surrounds it is upwards of 150 feet.

Such is the magnificent tomb of the greatest of the Pathan kings, which for grandeur and dignity is quite unequalled in Northern India. The Taj Mahal may be more

beautiful, although perhaps its beauty is due as much to its material as to its design; but after the Taj Mahal I know of no other tomb that can be compared with the Mausoleum of Sher Shah. The tomb of Akbar, had it been completed with a domed chamber, as Mr. Fergusson has suggested,[1] might have rivalled it in beauty of outline, but the dome was never built, and we can only compare the buildings as they actually exist before us. There is, however, a decided similarity in the general design of both tombs, in storey rising over storey, each receding as it rises, until the whole pile culminates in a dome, which most appropriately completes the pyramidal appearance of the building. There is a pleasing variety too, in the use of octagonal and square cupolas in Sher Shah's tomb, which is wanting in that of Akbar, as the whole of the cupolas at Sikandra are square.

3.—The *tomb of Islam Shah* was never completed, but as the walls were raised to the tops of the arches, the whole of the ground plan and much of the general design of the building can be traced with certainty. The tomb stands to the north of the road, with its entrance to the south towards the tomb of Sher Shah. The general plan of the building is similar to that of the father's tomb, but with all the dimensions slightly increased. Thus the lake is 1,250 feet square, instead of 1000, and the island in the middle is 350 feet square, instead of 300. So also the clear space between the edge of the water and the side of the octagon is 65 feet, or 25 feet more than in Sher Shah's tomb, while the mausoleum itself was to have had a dome of 74 feet 6 inches span, or 2½ feet more than that of his father's tomb. The whole building is 140 feet in diameter, or 5 feet greater than that of the other tomb.

The island is approached by a bridge of pure Hindu construction, formed by large flat stone beams laid from pier to pier at short distances apart, and covered over by other stone beams laid transversely side by side. There are eleven openings in the bridge, which is 33 feet broad and 500 feet long. The end of each pier has a bold projection outwards, supported on three rows of stout corbels. Each of the bays

[1] History of Indian Architecture, p. 585. Mr. Fergusson has given a passage from the Travels of William Finch, which certainly supports his view that there was to have been an upper chamber crowned by a dome. But, so far as I could learn, there was no interior foundation ready to receive the walls for the support of such a dome.

thus formed was no doubt intended to receive a square cupola resting on four slender pillars, the effect of which would have been very picturesque.

On crossing the bridge one immediately misses the lofty platform like that on which Sher Shah's tomb stands. Here the rise is only a gentle slope of a few feet up to the plinth of the building. But the tomb itself is laid out on exactly the same plan as that of the father's. There is a central octagonal room, with a niche on the western side, and a doorway in each of the other seven sides. Beyond there is a verandah, or arcade, all round the central hall, with an outer wall pierced with three arches on each of the eight faces. There are several slight differences in the details of the openings; but the only novelty of any importance is the introduction of small *minârs*, or pillars, at all the angles of the outer octagon. These are octagonal in the lower half, and fluted above with convex flutes, alternately round and angular, like those of the Kutb minâr.

At the time of my visit I found people pulling down the ruined walls of this unfinished tomb and carting away the stones. The delinquent was, however, not a Public Works officer, although Mr. Fergusson seems to think that the temptation of easy access would have been too much for him to withstand. Speaking of Sher Shah's tomb, he says—"The bridge fortunately was broken down before the grand trunk road passed near. But for this, it would probably have been utilised before now."[1] For the credit of the Public Works officers, I am happy to say that though the grand trunk road runs close by, and though the bridge is unbroken, yet they withstood the temptation of demolishing Islâm Shah's tomb. The demolisher I found was the zamindar, who laid claim to the island on which the tomb stands, and looked upon the tomb as his private property. Everywhere throughout Bengal I have found the same claims put forward on the part of the zamindars, which the civil authorities seem to acknowledge by their non-interference.

4.—The tomb of Ikhtiar Khan is at Chayanpur. According to the people's account, he was the father of Fateh Khan, who married one of Sher Shah's daughters. The same story was given to Buchanan nearly seventy years ago; but I have not been able to discover anything about either father

[1] History of Indian Architecture, p. 517.

or son. The following is Buchanan's description of the tomb[1]:—

"The inside of the dome of Ikhtiâr Khan's tomb is an octagon of 53 feet in the shorter diameter. The wall all round the niche for prayer has been plastered and covered with pious sentences written in black, and these perhaps extended all round the dome. The wall of this is 12 feet thick. The gallery round it is 9 feet wide, and the buttresses which support the arches in front are 6 feet square. The style of the building is exactly similar to that of the monument of Husen Khan at Sahsarom, only that the great dome is surmounted by a square area enclosed by a high wall, at each corner of which is a square chamber, surmounted by a very clumsy dome. The gate is large, and, were the masonry good, would be rather handsome. The area contains a number of fine trees and palm, which give the whole a grand air, especially as a hill overhangs it to the west; and between the hill and tomb there is a fine little river, so that the situation is most judicious. The tomb contains twenty-five graves, twelve of which have been destroyed by the water dropping through the roof. Besides the grave of Akhtiâr Khan, distinguished by a column at the head, there are entire the graves of four grown males, three women, five male children, and one female. No tradition remains concerning the fate of Fateh Khan, although there is no doubt that he and his children suffered in the wreck of his kinsman's family. A younger brother, Daüd Khan, resided here, and at the time of the Mughals' success was erecting several buildings. His tomb is a little north from that of his father, and is much smaller. It is square without and an octagon within, and would no doubt have been covered with a dome; but when he met his fate, that had not been commenced. The Mughals have permitted his body to be buried within"

5.—About 3½ miles east from Chayanpur is a tomb much like that of Daüd Khan, but the dome has been completed, and the whole is in good repair; yet nothing is known of the person who is buried in it, except that he was a Pathân named Mauli Khan, and that he communicated his name to an adjacent village which now belongs to a Hindu, and has done so for four or five generations.

The two tombs of Sher Shah and his son Islam Shah are the only examples that I have met with of Muhammadan tombs placed in the middle of lakes. It is a common position for Hindu buildings, as in most of the Kashmir temples, and in the famous golden temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar. I have met with several other tombs of the time of Sher Shah and his son, but they are all on dry land. I am therefore inclined to look on the adoption of the lake as a decided Hindu feature, which was very probably due to a Hindu architect. The innovation died with the family of Sher Shah, and has never been revived.

[1] Eastern India, I, pp. 460 and 461.

XXVII.—UMGÂ, OR MUNGA.

As the remains at Umgâ have been described by Kittoe, and photograped by Mr. Peppe, a short notice will be sufficient for them. The place is called indifferently either *Umgâ*, or *Mungâ*; but in the long inscription which has been published by Kittoe, it is named *Umanga-nagari*. The people also speak of the temple of *Munga Deo*, or the "god of Munga," which I take to be only a contracted form of speech for "the god of the city of Mungâ." But as this name would not have been given to their god by the citizens themselves, its use shows that this temple must have been of some repute in the surrounding country.

The only existing temple at the present day, and the one referred to in the inscription, is a granite building situated on a projecting spur of the Kaimur range, which is a conspicuous object for many miles round. The temple consists of the usual assembly hall, 27 feet by 25½ feet, with the roof supported by four pillars. On the north and south sides there are openings leading into small balconies. On the east is the entrance, and opposite to it is the sanctum, containing three wooden blocks which are the usual representatives of Vishnu, as Jagannâth, with his brother Balarâma, and his sister Subhadrâ. The whole length of the building is 62 feet 4 inches.

Kittoe notes as a remarkable feature in this temple the presence of Arabic inscriptions over the entrance doorway, "as well as those of the two small chambers, also on the eight sides of each pillar and on the architrave."[1] On the faces of the pillars and on the jambs of the doorways these inscriptions are limited to the name of Allah in slightly raised letters. But I noticed, as a peculiarity, that on the right jamb the name is cut reversed, so that it reads from left to right, and forms the most exact reflection of the name on the other jamb.

To the presence of these Arabic inscriptions Kittoe attributes the preservation of the temple "from the destructive hand of Muhammadan fanatics;" and this is no doubt true, as the conquerors actually occupied the Umgâ temple as a mosque. These inscriptions did not of course form a part of the original structure, as Kittoe would seem to have believed by his indignation at their subsequent defacement,

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVI, 657.

but were coarsely cut after the Muhammadan occupation. All the letters are flush with the faces of the stones, and only appear to be slightly raised by being placed in slightly depressed panels. The inscriptions over the two side doorways of the assembly hall still remain intact, with the exception of the name of Allah in the middle, which has been cut away, but in so imperfect a manner as to leave the letters quite legible.

The temple inscription is carved on a dark-blue slab, 3 feet 4 inches long by 1 foot 8 inches broad. It records how "the city of *Umangâ* flourished on the top of a high mountain," under the rule of a dynasty of Somavansi Râjas, the founder of which was named *Durdama*. The names of twelve successors are given, the last of whom was Bhairavendra, the builder of the temple. On Wednesday, the 3rd of the waning moon of Vaisâkh, in the year of Vikramâditya 1496 (or A.D. 1439), he established here, "by one ritual, the images of Jagannâth, Balarâma, and Subhadrâ."

At a short distance higher up the hill there are two ruined temples, one of which is called *Mungeswari Devi*, and is visited by thousands of pilgrims from all quarters. An annual fair is held here in the month of Phâlguna. Close by, but further up the hill, on a granite block there is a tablet containing a Nagari inscription; but it is so much injured by the weather, that I could not make out three consecutive letters in any part.

XXVIII.—BODH-GAYÂ, OR BUDDHA-GAYÂ.

I paid another visit to Bodh-Gayâ for the double purpose of examining the surrounding country and of making a survey of the ancient sites. On this occasion I approached from the south; and for several days before I reached the place I heard of a lofty temple called *Mahâ-Bodh*, which of course turned out to be the great temple of Bodh-Gaya. Everywhere the people speak of it as *Mahâ-Bodh*, and I have no doubt that this was the common name by which it was generally known in early times.

I had also in view a third object, namely, to examine the vaults and arches of the great temple for the purpose of ascertaining whether they formed part of the original structure, or were subsequent additions. On this point my researches led me to the conclusion that both arches and vaults are

most probably subsequent additions. My reasons for coming to this conclusion are based on the following facts:—

The sanctum of every square temple should itself be a square. This is the case with the great brick temple of Balâditya at Nâlanda, with the small brick temple at Konch, and with the fine brick temple of Bhitargaon, described in the present volume. But there is a wide departure from this law in the temple of Bodh-Gayâ, as it now exists. Thus the lower room is 20 feet 4 inches long, but only 13 feet broad, while the upper room is 18 feet 10 inches long by 14 feet 4 inches broad. The difference of width in the lower chamber would allow for a wall on each side of 2¼ feet; and to ascertain whether such a wall existed distinct from the main walls of the building, I examined the inner wall itself at one side of the great stone pedestal. Here I found that the end of the pedestal was cut off quite straight, and abutted against the side wall so that it was quite clear that the pedestal itself was set up at the same time that the side wall was built. On examining further, I found that the side wall contained nine courses of bricks in 2 feet, whereas the main walls of the building had only eight courses in the same height. From this difference it is quite clear that the two side walls of the lower room are distinct from the main walls of the building, as they do not break bond anywhere. As separate walls distinct from the outer main walls, I conclude that they must have been added at some period subsequent to the erection of the main building.

The original structure, as I believe, had only the one great opening to the east formed by overlapping bricks. After the lapse of some time, say two, three, or four centuries, the lower walls of the temple had become ruinous, as is the case with *all* brick buildings in India. To guard against this evil for the future, I suppose that a broad basement was added all round the outside, while the inside was strengthened by the addition of two side walls carrying a vault. We *know* that a similar outside basement was added to the great temple at Nâlanda, as well as a massive buttress. In this case I have pointed out that these additions must have been made before A.D. 600, as the mason's marks on the stones of the later work belong to the Gupta alphabet.[1] In the case of the Bodh-Gayâ temple, also, I infer that the inner vault must have been added before A.D. 600, from the following state-

[1] Archæological Survey of India, III, 101.

ment of Hwen Thsang :—The king *Saṣângka* having ordered one of his ministers to throw down the statue of Buddha and put Ṣiva's image in its place, the poor man was struck with fear, believing that, if he destroyed the statue of Buddha, he would incur intolerable evils for many succeeding ages, whilst if he disobeyed the king's order, he and his whole family would be exterminated. He consulted a faithful servant, who quickly ran up a brick wall in front of the statue of Buddha, against which he placed an image of Ṣiva; and *as the room was dark*, he lighted *it with a lamp*. Now, my argument is, that the vault must already have been built, otherwise the room could not have been dark on account of the great opening in front. And further, unless the vault had then existed, it would have been quite impossible to have run up a brick wall in front of the statue of Buddha to the height required to make it look like the wall of the building.

The outer arch of the entrance has fallen down, but the inner arch leading to the sanctum still remains, as well as the two side arches leading up to the top of the basement by flights of steps. All these arches are circular. But the vaults of both the lower and upper rooms are pointed. Both of these peculiarities exist also in the Bhitargaon temple, in which the arches are circular and the domes are pointed. In both temples the arches are formed by regular voussoirs of wedge-shaped bricks. But, as I have already explained in my account of the Bhitargaon temple, although the *principle* of construction is the same as in the European arch, yet the actual arrangement of the bricks, or method of construction, is different. In the European arch the voussoirs are placed face to face, whereas in the Indian arch they are placed side to side. I suppose that this process had become very familiar to the Hindus in the building of stûpas with wedge-shaped bricks. The only difference is that in the latter case the bricks are laid horizontally; in the former they are placed perpendicularly. That this kind of arch was known to the Hindus, and used by them before the Muhammadan conquest, is most convincingly proved by the number of arches and vaults found in the *Buddhist stûpas* of Birdaban and Indappe; and that it was used at an early date is also proved by the discovery of arches in the ruined temple, *on the top* of which stands the Buddhist stûpa of Nongarh.

There is one fact which I think would be quite sufficient to account for the early failure of the walls of the Bodh-Gayâ temple, namely, that it was built on a sandy soil, raised

only a few feet above the ordinary floods of the Lilâjan river, and subject at all great floods to be inundated and thoroughly soaked through. The place where the temple stands was called *Uruvilwa* (in Pali *Uruwel*, or *Uruweld*), that is, the "sand hills," or "waves of sand."[1] At the time the temple was built the bed of the Lilâjan river must have been some 2 or 3 feet deeper than it is at present; but the great quantities of sand brought down by the annual floods would have gradually raised it, until the river overflowed the country nearly every year, and eventually wrought for itself the broad channel in which it now meanders. At some early period, when these overflows were frequent, the river gradually spread a deposit of sand all round the temple to a depth of nearly 3 feet. Thus at the back of the Bodhi tree, to the west of the temple, my excavations showed the pillars of Asoka's railing silted up to a height of more than 2 feet, completely covering the lower bar of the railing, which is still *in situ*. To remedy this evil a new pavement of bricks and lime mortar was laid on the sand at a height of 2 feet 7 inches above the old floor, and on this new floor I found three votive stûpas still standing.

Now, the granite floor of the eastern court in front of the entrance to the temple is also raised 2 feet above the granite floor of the sanctum of the temple. On this raised floor there is no trace whatever of the old Asoka railing; but instead of it we have the plinth of a much later railing in blue basalt.[2] As I have elsewhere shown, this new plinth does not even occupy the same position as the old one, and there can be no doubt that it is of much later date. Indeed, the very use of basalt is itself a sufficient proof of a later period, as every *ancient* fragment that has yet been found is either of granite or of sandstone. Even all the inscribed coping stones of the Gupta period which I discovered in the eastern court are of sandstone. Besides which, the people themselves say that the basalt quarries at *Pathar-katti* were not known in ancient times. The earliest specimens that I know are the plinth just referred to and the pedestal of the statue inside the temple itself. I am therefore of opinion that the raising of the court-yard in front and of the terrace floor behind were both done at the same time, when the arches and vaults were added to the temple and the great pedestal of blue basalt was placed inside.

[1] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, 164, note quoted from Turnour.
[2] See Archæological Survey of India, III, Plate XXV.

In a former report I have referred to the singularly exact accordance of Hwen Thsang's description of the temple of A.D. 637 with the actual temple of the present day. The accordance is indeed so exact, that on this ground alone it seems to me almost impossible not to believe that the present temple is the very same building which the pilgrim saw and described.

According to him, the temple was between 160 and 170 feet in height, and about 20 paces square at the base. I measured the height with a theodolite, and found it to be just 160 feet from the granite floor to the top of the ruined pinnacle. By adding a few feet to restore the pinnacle, the height would become about 165 to 170 feet. Similarly the base, according to my measurements, is 48 feet 10 inches one way by 47 feet 6 inches, which corresponds exactly with the pilgrim's 20 paces, or about 50 feet.

The temple was built of bluish-coloured bricks and faced with stucco. It was ornamented with niches in stages, each niche holding a gilded statue of Buddha, and was crowned with an *amalaka* fruit in gilt copper. The present temple is built throughout of dark-red bricks of a bluish tinge, and has once been plastered all over. The walls also are ornamented with tiers or rows of niches, many of which still hold figures of Buddha.

Hwen Thsang further says:—"On the east side there was *afterwards added* a pavilion of two storeys, with projecting roofs which rose in three tiers."[1] This statement regarding the *subsequent addition* of the rooms on the eastern side, as I have once before pointed out, is confirmed by the difference in the size of the bricks used in the walls of the temple and in the outer rooms on the eastern face. In the former there are exactly eight courses of bricks in 2 feet, while in the latter there are rather more than nine courses in 2 feet. As precisely the same difference exists between the inner walls and the vaults and arches, I have no doubt that they also belong to the same period, and are consequently of later date than the main walls of the building.

Believing, as I do, that we now see the very same building which Hwen Thsang saw and described in 637 A.D., it may be as well to give his account of its foundation.[2] On the site of an old vihâra, Asoka built a small vihâra, but afterwards a grand new vihâra was built by a Brahman, while a

[1] For all these details, see Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, pp. 464 and 465.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 465.

large tank was excavated by his younger brother. The pilgrim gives no hint as to the date, but as he afterwards describes the great temple of Bâlâditya at Nâlanda as resembling, both in size and magnificence, the great temple near the Bodhi-drûm, I think that we have a faint clue towards finding its date. The Nâlanda temple is now in ruins; but my early identification of it in 1861 has since been confirmed by its excavation, which has most satisfactorily tested the accuracy of Hwen Thsang's description.[1]

"Both temples are square in plan, both rise from a raised terrace or platform, both are built of bricks faced with stucco, and both are ornamented with rows of panels containing figures of Buddha. But the agreement with Hwen Thsang's description goes still further. The height of the Nâlanda temple, he says, was 200 feet. Now, we know both the breadth and the height of Bodh-Gayâ temple, and as the Nalanda temple resembled it, we may conclude, with some confidence, that it was built with the same relative proportions of height to base. The base of the Nâlanda temple is 63 feet square, and that of the Bodhidrum temple is just 50 feet, its height being 160 to 170 feet. According to this proportion, the height of the temple of Bâlâditya, at Nâlanda, would have been a little over 200 feet, which agrees exactly with the measurement given by Hwen Thsang."

This similarity between the two temples, which includes also the relative proportion between the base and the height, seems to me to show that they must have been built much about the same time. Now, the date of Bâlâditya we learn from the statement of Hwen Thsang that he was the third successor of Sankarâditya, the founder of the Nâlanda monastery, who lived 700 years before Hwen Thsang's own time.[2] Counting backwards from A.D. 637, Sankarâditya will be fixed to B.C. 73; while Bâlâditya will be referred to the very beginning of the Christian era, if we reckon by generations of 25 years each, or to B.C. 28, if we reckon by reigns of 15 years. This, then, was the date of the Nâlanda temple. But as it was both broader and loftier than the Bodhidrûm temple, I conclude that it was built after the other. In another place I have suggested that the Bodhidrum temple may have been built by Sankarâditya himself.[3] But in any case I would assign the foundation of the Bodh-Gayâ temple to 50 or 60 B.C., and that of the Nâlanda temple to the beginning of the Christian era.

[1] Archæological Survey of India, III, 94.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, I, 150.
[3] Archæological Survey of India, III, 95.

In the accompanying map of the country around the great temple, I have attempted to identify several of the more important localities described by Hwen Thsang. Most of these are mentioned also by Fa Hian, but as he gives neither bearings nor distances, his notices are of no use for the purpose of identification.

The first notable locality described by Hwen Thsang is the tank that was dug by the two Brahman brothers. He places this outside the south gate of the court of the great temple, and says that it was about 700 paces, or 1,750 feet, in circuit.[1] Both the position and the size show that this must be the *Budhokhar* Tâl, marked A in the plan, which I found to be upwards of 400 feet square, or 1,620 feet in circuit in the dry season. It is rather less than 300 feet to the south of the court-yard of the great temple.

Still further to the south there was another tank which had been created by Indra to meet Sâkya's wish for a bath after his six years' meditation under the Bodhi tree. This I take to be the Mâhâp Tâl, which lies just 350 feet to the south-west of the Budhokhar, or Brahma's tank. It is 300 feet long by 250 feet broad, and is marked B in the map.

To the west of this tank there was a large stone which Indra had brought from the snowy mountains, when Sakya wished to dry his clothes after bathing. Near this spot also there was a stûpa, and still further to the south there was a second stûpa, where Buddha had received some old garments from a poor old woman. These sites might be looked for on the high ground to the west and south of the tank, but the spot is covered with houses.

To the east of Indra's tank, in the middle of a wood, was the tank of the Nâga King Muchilinda. The eastern direction I would alter to west, because the great tank on the east belongs to the village of *Urel*, which is beyond all doubt the representative of the ancient *Uruvilwâ*, or *Uruwel*. By changing the direction to the west, the Muchilinda tank may be identified with the large piece of water called *Teskâr*, or *Tâksâl Tâl*, which lies at a short distance to the south-west of the *Mahâp Tâl*, and is marked C in the map. This tank is 600 feet long and nearly 500 broad in its widest part. On its western bank there was a small vihâra, which is now represented by a small modern temple, about which are collected several Buddhist sculptures. The legend was that when

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 477.

Sâkya first obtained Buddhahood, he remained for some days in the place in meditative abstraction. During the whole of this time the Nâga King Muchilinda guarded him by encircling him with his folds and forming a conopy over him with his numerous heads. In the books of Ceylon the Nâga is said to have protected him from the rain.[1]

"In the sixth week," says Hardy, "he went to lake Muchilinda, where he remained at the foot of a midella tree. At the same time a rain began to fall, which continued during seven days, without intermission, in all the four great continents. The Nâga Muchilinda, having ascended to the surface of the lake, saw the darkness produced by the storm; and in order to shelter Buddha from the rain and wind, and protect him from flies, musquitoes, and other insects, he spread over him his extended hood, which served the purpose of a canopy, and during the time the sage was in this position, he enjoyed the satisfaction of *dhyâna*."

According to Fa Hian, Muchilinda was blind;[2] but this is not mentioned by any other authority. The Lalita Vistara describes the Naga as protecting Buddha from the "cold and wind" while he spent the fifth week in his house. This house, as we learn from Hwen Thsang, was on the eastern side of the tank marked C in the map. Here also in the midst of a wood there was a vihâra containing a statue of Buddha, which represented him as thin and emaciated after his long asceticism. Close by was a place where Buddha used to take exercise. It was about 70 paces, or upwards of 200 feet in length. These spots are marked by the letters D and E in the map.

Hwen Thsang next describes a number of holy sites which cannot now be identified. Some of them were certainly on the bank of the Nairanjana river (the Lilâjan), and as they were close together, it is probable that all of them were on the river bank.[3] I have marked their probable positions in the map with small letters as follows:—

F.—A stûpa where Buddha bathed in the Nairanjana river.

G.—The spot where Buddha received and ate the rice and milk offered by the maiden Sujata.[4] This was close to the bathing place, and only a short distance from the river. The site was marked by a monument, either a stûpa or a vihâra, but which of the two is not stated.

H.—Near the last there was a stûpa where the merchants presented Buddha with wheat, flour, and honey.

[1] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 182.
[2] Beale's Fa Hian, Chap. XXXI, p. 125.
[3] See Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 481.
[4] The history is told at length by Hardy's Manual of Buddhism. 167.

J.—Close by there was another stûpa, where the kings of the four quarters of the universe brought their golden bowls to offer to Buddha for the reception of the wheat, flour, and honey, as it was not the custom of Buddhas to receive anything in the hand. The golden bowls being refused, the four kings then brought stone bowls, which were accepted. Then placing one inside the other, he formed them into one bowl.

K.—Near this stûpa there was another built on the spot where Buddha had explained the Law to his mother.

L.—A stûpa on the bank of a dry tank-marked site, where Buddha had displayed miracles. I suppose that this may be the large dry tank to the west of the village of *Urel,* as it is said to have been close to the next site.

M.—A stûpa built on the spot where Buddha had converted Uruvilvâ-Kâsyapa and his two brothers, Nadi-Kâsyapa and Gaya-Kâsyapa, with one thousand of their disciples. The Sanskrit Uruvilva is rendered in Pali by *Uruvelâ* and *Uruvel*, which is now represented in the name of the little village of *Urel.* Here was Uruvilvâ Kâsyapa's cell, and to the north-west there was a second stûpa.

N.—Which marked the site of the fire temple, where lived the poisonous Nâga which Kâsyapa propitiated and Buddha conquered. This site may perhaps be identified with the small mound, marked N in the map, which lies close to the north-west end of the village of Urel.

The legend of the conversion of the three Kâsyapas is one of the most famous legends of Buddhism. The story has been told at some length by both Hardy and Beal;[1] and several of its most striking incidents are represented in the Sânchi and Gândhara sculptures. In these we see the fire-worshipper in his striped kilt and spiral head-dress, with a pot of fire by his side, sitting in front of his hermitage. To him approaches Buddha to ask for a night's lodging, which Kâsyapa grants, and points to the Fire temple. But at the same time he warns Buddha that the place is inhabited by a powerful and poisonous Nâga. Buddha accepts the risk, and during the night has a furious contest with the Nâga, who at last springs into his alms-bowl, and is at once secured. In the morning, when Kâsyapa expected to find his guest killed by the snake, he sees Buddha approaching him with alms-bowl in hand, out of which appears the head of the

[1] Manual of Buddhism, 188; and Romantic History of Buddha, 292.

subdued Nâga. The site marked N in the map must have been the scene of this curious legend, if my identification of *Uruvilvâ* with the present village of *Urel* be correct.

There is some doubt about the meaning of *Uruvilvâ*, which Turnour translates as "sand hills," or "waves of sand,"[1] but which, according to the Tibitan version of the Lalita Vistara, means "many tanks."[2] Both of these versions agree very well with the sandy nature of the site and its surrounding tanks. Uruvilvâ was the name of the village, which was under a *Senapati*, or *Senâni*, named Nandika, whose daughter Sujâtâ presented the rice and milk to Buddha.[3] In the Lalita Vistara nine other young girls are associated with Sujâtâ, of whom one is named *Uluvillika*, which is clearly only a variant reading of *Uruvilvakâ*. In some passages mention is made of the "forest of *Uruvilvâ*," near which was a village of the same name.[4] As *vilva* is the name of a common and well-known tree, now called "bel" (Aegle marmelos), the original meaning of *Uruvilvâ* would have been the "many bel trees,' or the "Bel forest." This derivation is confirmed by the statement of the Lalita Vistara, according to which Buddha was charmed when he beheld the village of Uruvilvâ with *its beautiful trees and shrubs*, and the pure waters of the Nairanjana river. That the river in early times was subject to great floods is, I think, proved by the story of Kâsyapa's anxiety about Buddha's safety when surrounded by the inundation. The deposit of sand about Uruvilvâ seems also to be established by the following legend[5]—

"In a former age there were ten thousand ascetics resident in that *forest*, and it was their custom that when any of them were troubled with evil thoughts, they arose early in the morning, and going to the river entered it and waded on until the water reached to their mouths, when they took up a handful of sand from the bottom and put it in a bag. They afterwards confessed the fault of which they had been guilty in the midst of the assembled ascetics, and threw down the sand in their presence as a token that the appointed penance had been performed. By this means in the course of years a sandy plain was produced 16 miles in size."

This certainly is an ingenious way of accounting for the acoumulation of sand: but I prefer the natural process of the

[1] Mahavanso Index, p. 27, "*uru*, sand, and *welays*, waves or mounds."
[2] Foncaux's Lalita Vistara, translated from Tibitan, p. 238.
[3] The Lalita Vistara gives the name of Nandika, Foncaux, p. 238.
[4] Hardy's Manual of Buddhim, p. 166, near the "forest of Uruvilva," p. 188, Uruwela forest.
[5] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 104 and 165.

river floods, and I am willing to accept the 16 miles as a fair estimate of the extent of the sandy tract.

XXIX.—PATÂLIPUTRA.

When Buddha crossed the Ganges for the last time at the little village of *Pâtali*, he predicted that it would become a great city, but that it would be destroyed at last "by internal discords, fire, and inundations."[1] Its foundation as a royal city is attributed by the Buddhists to Ajâtasatru, King of Magadha, shortly after Buddha's death, but by the Brahmans it is assigned to Udayâswa, his grandson.[2] Its date may therefore be fixed about B.C. 450, or just 120 years before the invasion of Alexander the Great. In those early days the walls of the city, as well as the principal houses, were built of wood. This information we owe to Megasthenes, who resided for some time in Palibothra as the Ambassador of Seleukus Nikatar at the court of Chandra Gupta Maurya. Euphorion, who became the librarian of Antiochus the Great in B.C. 221, says that "the *Morias*, an Indian people, live in wooden houses;" and Strabo, who lived much later, describes the loopholed walls of the city as made of wood. But as both writers copied from Megasthenes, their information must be referred to B.C. 300, as there is good reason to believe that Asoka, the grandson of Chandra Gupta, had erected a *stone palace* for himself, as well as several other *stone* buildings. Thus the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian (A.D. 400 to 415) says:—

> "This is the town in which King Asoka reigned. In the middle of the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which he commissioned the genii (demons) to construct. The massive stones of which the walls are made, the doorways, and the towers, are no human work."

The later pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who visited Pâṭaliputra in A.D. 637, states that Asoka surrounded the city with a second wall, the *stones* of which were of divine origin. But this curious legend about the palace and the city walls of Asoka is, at least, as early as the time of Augustus, as Diodorus records that *Herakles* built many cities, the most famous of which is called Palibothra.[3] In the Buddhist legend, trans-

[1] Bigandet, Legend of the Burmese Buddha, p. 258; see also Turnour, in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, 998.

[2] Wilson, in Vishnu Purana, p. 467, note, quoting the Vayu Purana.

[3] Diod. Sic. Hist., I, II, c. 3.

lated by Burnouf, the *spirits* who assisted Asoka are called "*Yakshas*."[1] Their king was Kuvera, the god of wealth, who is perhaps better known by his patronymic of Vaisravana. Now, it seems to me not improbable that this name may be the original from which the Greeks derived that of *Dorsanes*, or the Indian Herakles. As this name first appears in Pliny, I suspect that he must have got it from Jambulus, who, according to the account of Diodorus, after being seven years in Taprobane, was wrecked—

"upon the sandy shallows of India, and forthwith carried away to the king, then at the city called *Polybothia*, many days' journey from the sea, where he was kindly received by the king, who had a great love for the Grecians * * This Jambulus committed all these adventures to writing, and gave an account of many things relating to the affairs of India, before unknown to strangers."[2]

But from whatever source this curious account of the building of Palibothra by Herakles was derived, its mention by Diodorus shows that it must have been current in India as early as the middle of the first century B.C. Having thus traced the fable to a date so near to Asoka's own time, it is easy to believe that it may have originated with the courtly Buddhist priesthood after his conversion to Buddhism. Of Asoka, it may be truly said that he found his capital of wood and left it of stone; and this almost sudden change may well have appeared to a credulous people to have been the work of the demons, and not of human hands. So deep-rooted was this belief in the superhuman agency employed by Asoka, that Hwen Thsang takes care to note that the stûpa inside the king's palace was really built by human hands.[3]

In the time of Chandra Gupta, according to Megasthenes, in Arrian, the city of Palibothra was 80 stadia (upwards of 9 miles) in length, and 15 stadia (1¾ miles) in breadth; it was surrounded by a ditch 30 cubits deep, and the walls were adorned with 570 towers, and 64 gates.[4] On the same authority Strabo adds that it was in the shape of a parallelogram surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with openings for the discharge of arrows. Outside there was a ditch, which served both as a defence and as a sewer for the city.[5]

[1] Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 373.
[2] Diod. Sic. Hist., I, II, c. 4.
[3] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 418.
[4] Arriani Indica, X.
[5] Strabonis Geogr., XV, , 36.

Of the appearance of the city after the alterations made by Asoka, the earliest notice is that of a Chinese officer, between A.D. 222 and 280, who received his information from men who had just returned from India.[1] From them he heard that—

"the prevailing religion was that of Buddha; the population was very numerous; the soil was rich and fertile, and the king of the country had the title of Meu-lun (or Mau-lun). The suburbs of the *fortified* city in which he resided were watered by canals, which flowed on all sides and filled the deep ditches which surrounded the city. Beneath it flowed a great river (the Ganges). All the palaces and public buildings of the city were covered with inscriptions and other ornaments sculptured in relief. A winding street, one *li* in length, formed the market. The houses were several stories in height."

From this account we learn that the city of *Pâtaliputra* was still flourishing as the capital of a great kingdom during the third century of the Christian era. The sculptured walls, which afterwards attracted the notice of Fa Hian, are duly mentioned, as well as the deep ditch which surrounded the city. The name of the king is not given, but only his title of *Mau-lun*, which is most probably a corruption of *Mahârâja*. It is just possible that it might be intended for *Mahendra*, which was the title of Kumâra Gupta. According to my newly adopted date of 167 for the beginning of the Gupta era, Kumâra must have reigned from about A.D. 260 to 296 A.D.

When Fa Hian visited Pâṭaliputra in A. D. 400 to 415, the palace was already in ruins.[2] Now, the last great Gupta king was Budha Gupta, whose inscription at Eran is dated in 165 of the Gupta era, and whose coins are dated in 174 and 180 odd, the last date being equivalent to A.D. 340. It seems probable, therefore, that the decline of Pâṭaliputra was due to the fall of the great Gupta dynasty and the consequent removal of the seat of government to another place.

In A.D. 637 Hwen Thsang describes the city as having been deserted for a very long time.[3] Hundreds of monasteries, Brahmanical temples, and stûpas, were all in ruins. On the north side only, and close to the Ganges, there was still a small town containing about one thousand houses. As the mention of the temples of the gods being involved in the common ruin, shows that the desertion of the city was not

[1] Journal Asiatique, Octobre 1839, p. 284; and Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, 64.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian.
[3] Julien's Hwen Thsang.

due to any religious cause, we may with safety adopt the prophecy of Buddha and attribute its downfall to "fire, treachery, and inundation."

With respect to the first cause, "fire," it is only too common in an Indian city, where so many thousands of thatched roofs exist. I have myself seen one-half of the great town of Rangoon reduced to ashes in a few hours.

The second cause, "treachery," is also only too common in India, and may be said to be the invariable accompaniment of a change of dynasty.

The third cause, "inundation," is certain to happen sooner or later to a place situated, like Pâṭaliputra, in the fork of two large rivers. "The capital city of India," says Arrian, "is Palibothra, in the confines of the Prasii, near the confluence of the two great rivers Erannaboas and Ganges." Strabo either omits the second name, or gives it in an abbreviated and corrupt form. "Palibothra," he says, "is situated at the confluence of the Ganges and of *another* river " This is the usual rendering, but in some copies of the original text the word is *αλαον* the *Alaüs*. The Erannaboas has generally been identified with the *Soṇa*, or Son river, as the Amara Kosha gives *Hiranya-vâha*, or *Hiranya-bâhu*, as a synonyme. As both of these names are masculine, they can be applied to *Soṇa*, one of the few male rivers in India. Any attempt to identify the Erannaboas with the Gandak is, therefore, a mere waste of time, as the Gandaki is a female river. But besides this, we have the direct testimony of Patanjali that *anu Soṇam Pâṭaliputram*, "on the Soṇa is Pâṭaliputra."[1] The Ṣoṇa and *Erannaboas*, on *Hiranyavâha*. were therefore one and the same river.

But the Son has long ago changed its course, and now joins the Ganges some 12 miles above the western end of the city of Patna. Nothing is known as to the date when this change occurred. But the ancient course of the river has been traced very carefully by Mr. Duell and by Mr. Beglar. The old stream left the present bed somewhere near Dâüdnagar, and flowed *viâ* Râmpur Chai and Kyâl to *Sonabhadrà*, where it was joined by the Punpun river. From this point it continued its north-north-east course down the present bed of the Punpun till opposite to Nobatpur, where it turned to the east and joined the Ganges at. Phatuha below Patna. According to my own observations, a large branch must have

[1] Indian Antiquary, October 1872, p. 301, quoted by Bhândârkar.

continued its course from near Nobatpur to Chilbil, 4 miles to the south of Phulwâri, where it turned to the east-north-east, and flowed past Pakaoli and Nirandpur, where it again changed its course to the south-south-east, and rejoined the present bed of the Punpun at Mahauli, from whence it went on to Phatuha. This old line is still known by the name of the *mar Son*, or "dead Son," and everywhere along its course pebbles and boulders and coarse red sand are found only a few feet beneath the surface. I dug up sand and small rounded stones at Pakaoli, 1½ miles to the west of Nirandpur, and at Kasba-Patna, nearly three quarters of a mile to the east of it. At Pathariya Jhil also I found large boulders, as well as sand, and I was informed that many loads of stones had been taken from that spot to mend the Patna roads. The same coarse red sand has also been found at Chilbil, 4 miles to the south of Phulwâri, while large stones have been dug up at Nima, on the Murhar, where it is crossed by the Gaya road. All these facts seem to show that a large branch of the Son must once have flowed close up to the southern suburbs of Pâṭaliputra.

The river changes that have taken place since the foundation of *Pâṭaliputra* are of two kinds—the encroachments of the *Ganges* and the desertion of the *Son*. On the north side, in the sands of the Ganges, the people still find numerous stone seals and ornaments of gold, as well as coins and other things. But the amount of cutting on this face could not have been more than from half a mile to 1 mile in breadth. This I gather partly from the existing ruins of Asoka's monuments, which are nearly 2 miles from the river bank, and partly from the statement of Fa Hian, that the distance from the northern bank of the Ganges to the city was one *yojana*, or 7 miles. Now the distance between Hâjipur, on the north bank of the Ganges, to Nirandpur, on the south side of the city of Patna, is just 7 miles in a straight line, or about 9 or 10 miles by road and ferry. But Nirandpur is half a mile to the south of the city, which leaves only 1½ miles for the breadth of the city. I think, therefore, that about half a mile of the breadth may have been swept away by the Ganges.

Amongst the Chinese accounts of India I find that "about A.D. 756 the bank of the river *Ho-lung*, the Ganges, or perhaps the Hiranyavaha or Son, gave way and disappeared."[1]

[1] Chinese account of India in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, 471.

I presume that this statement refers to some catastrophe at *Pâtaliputra*, as the only other great city on the immediate bank of the Ganges is Benares, where such an event is much less likely to have happened.

After this date nothing whatever is known of Pâṭaliputra until the time of Sher Shah when it is mentioned as a small town dependent on Bihâr, "which was the seat of the local Government." We know that Bihâr was the chief city of Magadha at the time of the Muhammadan conquest in A.D. 1200; and there is good reason for believing that it was the chief city of Magadha during the whole time of the Pala dynasty, or from the beginning of the ninth century. It seems probable also that Bihâr had already supplanted Pâṭaliputra in the time of Yaso Varma, as the city of Yaso Varma, mentioned in the Ghosrâwa inscription, was almost certainly another name for Bihâr. As Yaso Varma was reigning in A.D. 730—750, I conclude that from the fall of the Gupta dynasty, about 375 A.D., down to A.D. 1541, when Sher Shah visited the place, the old capital of the country had continued to exist as a small and unimportant town, although it still retained its old title of *Patana*, or "the city," that is, "the metropolis."

The story of the restoration of the old city by Sher Shah, as related in the Târikh-i-Dâüdi, is characterstic of the man.[1]

"He was standing on the bank of the Ganges, when, after much solid reflection and sage determination, he said to those who were standing by:—'If a fort were to be built in this place, the waters of the Ganges could never flow far from it, and Patna would become one of the great towns of this country, because this place is situated to the west on the banks of the Ganges, which flows from the north. The strength of the stream is broken, and it cannot advance towards the north.' He therefore ordered skilful carpenters and bricklayers to make out immediately an estimate for building a fort where he then stood. These experienced workmen submitted an estimate of five lakhs which on the spur of the moment was made over to trustworthy persons. The fort was completed, and was considered to be exceedingly strong. Bihâr from that time was deserted and fell to ruin, while Patna became one of the largest cities of the province. Sher Shah clearly foresaw that Patna would become a great town, and therefore he ordered a fort to be built on the old site, 'because,' as he expressed himself on another occasion, 'if my life lasts long enough, I will build a fort in every sirkar on a suitable spot, which may in times of trouble become a refuge for the oppressed, and a check to the contumacious.'"[2]

[1] Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, IV, 478.
[2] Târikh-i Sher-Shahi, in Sir H. M. Elliot's, by Dowson, Vol. IV, 420.

I think it most probable that Sher Shah retained the lines of rampart as well as the ditches of the old city, and that his principal work was restoration. To carry this out in his complete fashion, I believe that every old building would have been sacrificed, so that we need not wonder that not one stone is left upon another within the limits of the ancient city.

Outside the city, however, about half a mile to the south, there is a continuous line of brick mounds which are known by the name of Panch-Pahâri, or the "five hills." The village to which they belong is called *Nirandpur*, but the patwâri said it was properly *Nirandarpur Kharonia*. In the revenue books it is recorded as *Zakariya*, or *Nirandpur*, the first name belonging to a village a short distance to the north. But the name by which it is best known is *Panch-Pahâri*, and its two divisions are called *Barâ Pahâri* and *Chotâ Pahâri*.[1] The mounds of ruin run in a continuous line from north to south about 3,000 feet in length, but not more than 600 feet in breadth. They form a striking feature in this flat country, and are of course an object of wonder to the people, who account for their presence by the following story:—

"A Siddh (or spirit) is said to have been carrying a hill through the air for the purpose of forming an embankment across the Ganges; but the morning broke just as he reached the present site, Panch-Pahâri, and as spirits cannot work by day, he was obliged to drop the hill, which broke into five pieces, just as they are now seen."

I give this story just as I heard it, because I believe that it preserves a portion of the old legend of the demons who were employed to bring stones for Asoka's buildings. It is in fact a genuine survival of part of the old story.

In my attempt to identify some of the famous buildings described by the two Chinese pilgrims, I will begin with the relic stûpa of Asoka, because its position rules the sites of all the others. According to Fa Hian, this stûpa stood three *li*, or half a mile, to the south of the city.[2] Now this is the exact position of the ruins at Panch-Pahâri, which I would identify with the stûpa and its surrounding buildings. I have distinguished each separate mound by a letter of the alphabet, as the people have no distinct names for them.

C.—This mound has been levelled at the top to form an akhâra, or wrestling place. It is 30 feet in height, and forms

[1] See Plate XLI for a map of these villages and the ruined mounds.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian. Chap. XXVII, p. 107.

a conspicuous object in the line of mounds from its rounded appearance. I picked up several fragments of bricks with curved edges, but I was unable to make any excavations, as the mound is covered with the remains of Muhammadan tombs. By making enquiries and offering rewards I obtained one unbroken brick which had been found when the top was levelled. This brick was curved on both its longer sides, and was evidently made to form part of a great circle in the facing or outer courses of a stupa. It was 8¼ inches broad and 3¼ inches thick, with a length of 19⅝ inches on the outer chord, and of 19 inches on the inner chord, the amount of curvature being exactly one-third of an inch. From this brick and some other broken ones I calculate that the diameter of the stûpa was about 100 feet. Fa Hian's account of the monument is as follows:—

"King Asoka, having destroyed seven towers, constructed eighty-four thousand others. The very first which he built is the great tower, which stands about 3 *li* to the south of this city.[1] In A.D. 637, when seen by Hwen Thsang, the cupola or great mass of the building was still standing, surrounded by a balustrade of stone.[2] It contained a *ching*, one-third of a cubic inch, of the relics of Buddha.

B.—"Three or four hundred paces to the north of the tower (stûpa) is the spot where Asoka was born (or resided). On this spot he raised the city of *Nilái*, and in the midst of it erected a stone pillar, also about 35 feet in height, on the top of which he placed the figure of a lion, and also engraved a historical record on the front of the pillar, giving an account of the successive events connected with the city of Nilâi, with the corresponding year, day, and month."

Three or four hundred paces would be about 800 feet, just where the village of Chota Pahâri now stands, on a great square mound rising to 35 feet at its heighest point. This, then, must be the site of the palace in which Asoka was born (or resided). Of the pillar there is of course no trace.

D.—"In front of this tower," says Fa Hian, "is an impression of Buddha's foot, over which they have raised a chapel, the gate of which faces the north."

Hwen Thsang does not record the position of this temple, but simply says that it was close to the stûpa. In it—

"there was a large stone, on which were the prints of Buddha's feet, each 18 inches long and 6 inches broad, with chakra on each side of them."

[1] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XXVII, pp. 108, 109.

[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 417. Taking the *ching* at 53 centilitres, the share of Buddha's relics preserved in this stûpa was just one-third of a cubic inch.

The legend was that when Buddhâ reached Pâṭali on his way to Kusinagara, where he was to die, he turned his face to the south, and standing on this stone said to Ananda :—

" To-day for the last time I behold the kingdom of Magadha, and here I leave my footprints. One hundred years hence there will be a king, named Asoka, who will reign over this country, and fix his court on this spot. He will protect the *Triratna* (*i.e.*, the 'three gems' Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha), and *have power over the demons and spirits.*"

Accordingly, when Asoka came to the throne, he transferred his court to this spot. In aftertimes various kings wished to carry off this holy stone, but although it was not large, they were unable to move it, in spite of the efforts of numbers of people. In these later days King *Ṣaṣângka* having abolished the Buddhist religion ordered the sacred foot-marks to be effaced, but after every stroke of the chisel the lines re-appeared as before.[1]

I think that the vihâra containing the footprints of Buddha must have been at the spot marked D in the map. It is just 300 feet to the south of the stûpa, and has evidently been the site of some building.

G.—" To the south of the tower," says Fa Hian, " is a stone pillar about a *chang* and a half in girth (18 feet, or upwards of 5 feet in diameter), and three *changs* or so in height (35 feet). On the surface of this pillar is an inscription to the following effect: 'King Asoka presented the whole of Jambudwipa to the priests of the four quarters, and redeemed it again with money, and this he did four times."[2] Hwen Thsang's account is much the same—" A short distance from the vihâra, which possesses the footprints of Buddha, there is a great stone pillar 30 feet high. The inscription which it bears is now injured and imperfect, but its purport is as follows :—' King Asoka, steadfast in faith, has three times presented Jambudwipa to Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, and three times he has redeemed it again.' "

The position of this famous pillar must have been somewhere about the spot marked G in the map, as it is described by one pilgrim as being to the south of the stûpa (C), and by the other as close to the vihâra (D). As the door of the vihâra was to the north, the pillar would have been immediately in front of it.

E.—" By the side of the tower of King Asoka," says Fa Hian, " is built a Sanghârâma belonging to the Greater Vehicle (*Mahâyâna*), very imposing and elegant. There is also a temple belonging to the Little Vehicle (Hinayâna). Together they contain about six or seven

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 422.
[2] Beal's Fa Hian, p. 108, and Julien's Hwen Thsang, II.

hundred priests, all of them exceedingly well-conducted. In the college attached to the temple one may see eminent Shamans from every quarter of the world, and whatever scholars there are who seek for instruction, they all flock to this temple."

The first of these monasteries may have been at E, and the other at H. As neither of them is mentioned by Hwen Thsang, they had most probably been deserted before his time.

F.—This is by far the largest of all the mounds at Nirandpur. The top has been levelled, and is 160 feet square and 50 feet high. In the middle there is a tomb of some holy Muhammadan, and near the foot of the northern and western slopes stand many of the houses of the village of Barâ Pahâri. It is this great mound which the people liken to a hill, and if I am right in identifying it with the rock-house built for Mahendra, it was most probably called so even in the time of Asoka. The legend regarding Mahendra's rock-house is thus told by Fa Hian[1]—

"The younger brother of King Asoka, having arrived at the dignity of a Rahat, was in the habit of residing in the hill *Khi-chi-kin* (Gridhra-kuṭa), finding his chief delight in silent contemplation. The king, having a great regard and reverence for his brother, requested him to come to his house to receive (or present) his religious offerings. His brother, pleased with his tranquility in the mountain, declined the invitation. The king then addressed his brother, saying—'If you will only accept my invitation, I will make for you a hill within the city.' The king then, providing all sorts of meat and drink, invited the genii to come, addressing them thus:—'I beg you all to accept my invitation for to-morrow, but as there are no seats (fit for you), I must request you each to bring his own.' On the morrow all the great genii came, each one bringing with him a great stone four or five paces square. Immediately after the feast (the session), he deputed the genii to pile up the great stones and make a mountain of them, and at the base of the mountain with *five* great square stones to make a rock chamber, in length about 35 feet and breadth 22 feet, and in height 11 feet or so."

Here we see that Asoka's object was to make a *mountain* with a rock house inside, which should remind Mahendra of his previous abode in the cave of the Gridhra-kuṭa mountain. In describing this work Hwen Thsang calls it a great stone-house, which outside looked like a high hill *(une haute montagne)*. He then goes on to describe how Asoka had commanded the demons and spirits to build this house for his younger brother Mahendra, who had adopted a religious life.

[1] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XXVII, pp. 103, 104.

He called the demons and spirits and said to them :—"To-morrow I hold a great feast, to which I invite you all, but each of you must bring a large stone for a seat." Each demon duly brought a stone, and after the feast the king told them to construct a hollow chamber with the stones. The demons obeyed, and *in less than a day* they had finished their task.[1]

In this account I believe the expression *less than a day* refers to the well-known limitation of demons' work to the night only. I would therefore read that the work was done *in the course of a single night*. The people of *Lâṭ* say the same thing of their great monolith, 53 feet in length, which is now lying in a rice field. Two pillars were being brought through the air by Devatas. One of the carriers reached his destination, but the other, who had only got as far as the village of Lâṭ by daybreak, was obliged to drop his load, which has lain there undisturbed ever since.[2]

I made numerous excavations in this great mound, one of them being a trench 12 feet deep right across from east to west. Several walls were uncovered, but none of them were continuous. The bricks were of large size, 12 and 13 inches square, laid in clay mortar. As nothing was discovered, I thought it right to give up the excavations. If the Muhammadan tomb had not interfered, I would certainly have sunk a shaft down the very centre of the mound to the ground level.

I have already referred to the fact that both of the Chinese pilgrims describe the rock chamber of Mahendra as resembling a hill on the outside, but in another place Hwen Thsang boldly speaks of it as "the mountain." "On the south-west of the *mountain*," he says, "there are *five stûpas* * * which still retain a slight elevation." He then quotes from "The Memoirs on India" the following passage :—"In ancient times, when Asoka had finished the building of the 84,000 *stûpas*, there still remained five *ching* of the relics of Buddha.[3] For their reception he then built five more stûpas, which completely eclipsed all the others by their marvellous construction." It would be difficult to explain Fa Hian's

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, pp. 425, 426.
[2] Mr. Broadley has given a slightly different version of this story; Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, LI, 255.
[3] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 427. The *ching* is one-third of a cubic inch As each of the 84,000 stûpas has received one *ching*, Asoka now built five more stûpas for the remaining relics.

silence regarding these five stûpas, did we not know that he has omitted to notice many other objects of great interest. I conclude that they were small, as they are said to have been remarkable for their wonderful construction. But I presume that the name of the *five* stûpas was generally attached to them, and this, I think, may have been handed down to the present day in the form of *Panch-Pahâri*, or the "five hills," by which these mounds are now known.

But the Panch-Pahâri mound has an interest of another kind besides its antiquity. From its top, in A.H. 983, Akbar viewed the fortifications of Patna.[1]

"The emperor went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and the environs of the city, and he ascended the *Panj-Pahâri*, which is opposite the fort. This *Panj-Pahâri*, or "five domes," is *a place built in old times by the infidels with burnt bricks in five stages*. The Afghans, who were on the walls and bastions of the fortress, saw the emperor and his suite as he was making his survey; and in their despair and recklessness they fired some guns at the Panch-Pahâri, but they did no injury at all to any one."

The strange rendering of Panch-Pahâri as "five domes" requires explanation. The word "dome" can only refer to a *stûpa*, or solid cupola; and consequently it might be inferred that some traces of these domes still remained at the time of Akbar's siege of Patna. But the subsequent statement that the place was built "in five stages," is very puzzling. Perhaps a reference to the original text would explain how five *domes* had become five *stages*.

Hwen Thsang further describes a great stone trough, or basin, which was said to have been made by the demons. When cooked rice was given to the monks, it was put into this basin. He also mentions a "small hill of stone," and speaks of its caverns and valleys as containing many dozens of rock-houses which Asoka had commanded the demons to build for *Upagupta* and other holy men. This small hill is placed to the south-west of the palace. Had it been to the north-west, it might have been identified with the mound marked A in the map. The remains of another stûpa near this "little hill" are spoken of as being only a heap of stones. Close by there was a tank, which people, both far and near, called the "holy water," because whoever bathed in it was at once relieved from the stain of his sins. This tank I believe to be represented by the piece of water called Pokhar, which will be found in the map to the south-east of the stûpa mound.

[1] Tabakât-i-Nasiri, in Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, V, 378.

Of the *Kukkutârâma*, or "Cock Monastery," and the *Amalaka* Stûpa, which stood near the south-east corner of the city, I could not find a single trace.

The town of *Nilâi* is mentioned only by Fa Hian. If I am right in the identifications of the ancient monuments which I have just described, then *Nilai* must be identified with *Nirandpur*, or Panj-Pahâri. As the name is most probably a shortened or corrupt form of the original, we may compare it with some other name given by Fa Hian, of which the original is absolutely known. Such a form is *Nalo*, which is the pilgrim's name for *Nâlanda*. I conclude therefore that *Nilâi* represents *Niranda*, and that the place described by him is almost certainly the present *Nirandpur*.

In a field to the west of the village there is a heap, or small pile, of stone stools with 4 feet. The pile is called *Goreya*, and is now worshipped, the stones being in some unaccountable way connected with departed spirits. Goreya means "place of the dead," and the name is in common use all over Northern India. Several of the stools are ornamented with Buddhist symbols. I have found similar stools amongst the Buddhist ruins of Bhîta, near Allahabad; and I have received one diminutive specimen, only 4½ inches long, from the site of the ancient Taxila.

According to Fa Hian, there was a confluence of five rivers at Pâṭaliputra.[1] Four of these are obvious, namely, the Ganges and its three great affluents, the Ghâghra and the Gandak on the north, and the Son on the south. But which was the fifth river? I believe this was the Nairanjan, or Phalgu, which was as holy a river to the Buddhists as the Saraswati was to the Brahmans. It joins the Deva, or old bed of the Son and Ganges, only 4 miles to the south of Phatuha.

XXX.—HILSA.

The village of Hilsa is situated about 15 miles to the south of Patna, but the distance by the old road *viâ* Phatuha is not less than 20 miles. Hilsa is the old name of the place which is said to have been changed to *Jatinagar*, after the defeat of Hilsa Deo by the Muhammadan saint Jaman Shah Madâri, commonly known as Jaman Jati.

There are various stories about the conflict between the Hindus and Musalmâns. Some say that Hilsa Deo was buried alive in an earthen vessel. Others say that he was killed and

[1] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. XXVI, p. 101.

buried outside Jaman Jati's tomb. But all agree that when Hilsa was dying, he asked his conqueror where he should get his food, to which Jaman replied, "whoever comes to Jatinagar and uses the name of *Hilsa* will receive food." By the Muhammadans, Hilsa Deo is said to have been a very powerful Kâfir. I suppose he may have been an influential zamindar, who opposed them for some time with success.

The tomb of Jaman Madâri is a square brick building, 34 feet 5 inches on the outside, with a room 24 feet square inside. According to an inscription over the door, it was erected in the year 950 A.H., during the reign of "Hazrat Sulimân Sher Shâh Sultân." The tomb is covered by a dome.

Close by there is an upright slab with an inscription dated in 1013 A.H., during the time (Jahângir) of Sulimân, son of Akbar Shâh.

It is curious from the quadruple record of the date in Arabic words, Persian words, numerical figures, and the letters of the *abjad*, with their values placed below them in figured numbers, as follows:—

alf wa sals ashar
Hazâr wa ṣisdah
1013
D. W B. A. || ZW.—Z.
4+6+2+1+800+200.

These six figures added together give the same date of 1013.

XXXI.—TELADHA, OR TELARA.

On leaving Pâṭaliputra the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang visited the monastery of *Ti-lo-tse-kia*, which in the account of his life is said to be 7 *yojanas* to the south-west, but in his travels is reduced to 100 *li*. Now 7 *yojanas*, at the stated rate of 40 *li* to the *yojana*, would be 280 *li*. In a third place it is stated to be 3 *yojanas* to the west of Nâlanda.[1] M. Julien's final rendering of the name was *Tiladhaka*, which long ago I had identified with the present village of *Telâra*, or *Telâdha*, some 30 or 32 miles from the mid point of the city of Patna by the old road *viâ* Phatuha. But 30 to 32 miles are equal to from 180 to 200 *li*, and this I suppose to have been the actual distance recorded by Hwen Thsang in

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, I. 211.

his notes, which the writer of the Life read as 280 *li*, and the writer of the Travels as 100 *li*. The third measurement of 3 *yojanas*, or 21 miles, to the west of Nalanda, agrees exactly with the distance of Teladha from Baragaon, the well-known site of the ancient monastery of Nalanda. But there is a fourth measurement given by the pilgrim on leaving *To-lo-tse-kia*, which places its identification with *Tilâḍha* beyond dispute. At 90 *li*, or 15 miles, to the south-west of *Ti-lo-tse-kia*, he reached a great mountain on which Buddha had sat to contemplate the kingdom of Magadha. Both the bearing and the distance point to the lofty peak of *Barâbar*; and this is confirmed by his subsequent route of 30 *li* to the north-west to the monastery of Gunamati, which was of remarkable size, and was situated in a gorge of the hills. This place corresponds exactly with the position of *Dharâwat* with its extensive Buddhist ruins. Again, at 20 *li*, or rather more than 3 miles, to the south-west, he reached an isolated hill where was the monastery of Ṣilabhadra, which corresponds exactly with the position of the solitary hill of Kauwa-Dal, with its Buddhist remains. As all these successive identifications serve to fix the position of *Ti-lo-tse-kia* with absolute precision on the very site of *Tilâḍha*, there could scarcely be any question of the correctness of my identification. But the identity of the two places has since been absolutely proved by the discovery of two inscriptions in *Telâḍha*, both giving its ancient name of *Telâḍhaka*.

Telâḍha was once a place of considerable importance, as it gave its name to the most numerous clan in Magadha. In the time of Akbar it was the head of a district yielding Rs. 73,000 of land revenue.[1] Early in the present century also it was still a large town containing 2,000 houses,[2] or about 10,000 inhabitants. But it has fallen off very much of late, as many of the houses have been deserted. The *Telis*, or "oil men," no longer deal in oil, but are the most enterprising Baniyas in the district. In the Nâlanda temple inscription, the Parama Upâsaka Bâlâditya (son of Gurudatta, and grandson of Haradatta) is called the "chief among the wise men of the *Tailaḍhaka* clan." It was a Teli who set up the colossal image of Buddha at Nâlanda, which is now called *Teliya Bhânḍâr*; and it was another Teli who set up the colossal Buddha at Titrâwa, which is still called after his

[1] Gladwin's Ain Akbari, II, 196.
[2] Eastern India, I, 97.

name. But the great preponderancē of Telis in Magadha is perhaps best marked by the well-known saying[1]—

Tûrk, Teli, Târ,
In tinon Bihâr.

"Tûrk, Teli, Târ,"
These three make Bihâr.

The Tûrks came in with the first Muhammadan conqueror Bakhtiâr Khalji, and the Târ tree, or palm, grows wild all over the district. But the Tûrks have now disappeared from Telâṛa, while all the Telis and Târ trees still remain. The Musalmâns all claim to be maliks, or descendants of Malik Baya, whose tomb is on the Bihâr hill.

Hwen Thsang gives a glowing account of the great monastery of *Tiladhaka*.[2] "This monastery," he says—

"has four courts, with arcades and three-storeyed pavilions, lofty towers, and gates that communicate with each other. It was built by the last of Bimbisâra's descendants, a prince of distinguished talent, who invited learned men to his court. Holy and eminent men flocked there in crowds. There are one thousand monks who study the *Mahâyâna*. On the road leading to the middle gate there are three vihârs, each crowned by a cupola with hanging bells, and many storeys in height. The vihârs are surrounded by balustrades. The doors and the windows, the pillars and the beams, are faced with bas-reliefs in gilded copper, mingled with rare ornaments. In the middle vihâra there is a standing statue of Buddha, 30 feet high, to the left a statue of Târa Bodhisatwa, and to the right one of Avalokiteswara. These three statues are of brass. Their divine aspect inspires a reverent awe. Each vihâr possesses a *ching* of relics.

"The site of this once magnificent pile" has been identified by Mr. Broadley with "an enormous mound of irregular shape near the Sonâ-nadi, about 50 feet high, and covered with Muhammadan tombs. Nearly every grave that has been dug there has yielded some specimen of Buddhistic art, and idols of brass and basalt are constantly found there."[3]

I have no doubt that Mr. Broadley is quite right in identifying the Bulandi, or high mound, which stands to the west of the village near the Sonâ-nadi, as the site of the great monastery and its vihârs. But the mound is only 24 feet high at its highest point, and not more than 350 feet square at its base. It is divided into four distinct parts, of which the middle one is much the highest. In the accompanying

[1] This popular saying has also been quoted by Mr. Broadley in his account of Buddhist remains of Bihâr, with a slight variation in the second line.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 439.
[3] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XLI, p. 251.

plate the Bulandi mound is marked by the letter A.[1] To the north of it there is a small mound about 80 feet square and 20 feet high, and to the east there is a similar mound. These two are marked B and C in the plan. It is not easy to identify the positions of Hwen Thsang's three vihârs. But as he approached from the north-east the higher part of the Bulandi mound A would be seen between the two mounds B and C. If, therefore, we suppose A to be the site of the vihâra containing the statue of Buddha, then B and C will represent the sites of the temples of the two Bodhisatwas. Then passing by the middle temple, the low mound to the south, marked D, would be the site of the middle monastery, and E and F those of the other two monasteries to the right and left, or east and west. The inter-communicating gates between the monasteries would have been in the north wall of D, one leading into E, and another into F, with third gate between them leading to the vihâra of Buddha.

The top of the great mound A is literally covered with Muhammadan graves, which utterly precluded any excavations in that part. But as a wall could be traced near the foot of the mound on the north side, I wished to make an excavation along the outside of it, to ascertain whether it was part of a monastery or of a temple. The leading Muhammadans, however, made such a strong remonstrance against any excavations whatever, that I was very reluctantly obliged to yield to them.

This Bulandi, or "high mound," is the common Muhammadan burial-place, and I was informed that whenever any Hindu figures were found in digging a grave, that spot was at once abandoned and the Hindus were allowed to remove the figures. Two small statues were thus disinterred only twelve days before my visit. They were both in a very fine state of preservation. One of them, a figure of Buddha teaching, was placed under a neighbouring Pipal tree in the village, and the other, a figure of Padmapâni, was taken to the house of a Brahman, who kindly presented it to me. Three of the old figures under the tree were inscribed with the Buddhist creed, and two others had the words Prajna Sena cut upon their bases.[2] I offered rewards for inscriptions, and after getting three or four copies of the Buddhist creed, I was fortunate enough to obtain a figure with a clear inscription

[1] See Plate XLII.
[2] See Plate XLII, figs. 3 and 4.

giving the name of the place. This record, which is engraved in small deeply-cut letters, I read as follows :—

Telyâdhaka vâstavyam
Loha Engga Bhattârakasya deva dharmâyam
Telika Vishnu puttrasya
Vriddhukena pratipâditah ||.

"The religious gift of a statue of *Loha Engga Bhattâraka*, set up, in Telyâdhaka, by Vriddhuka, son of Vishnu, the Teli."[1]

Now, this is the very name which is still in use, as it is always written *Telâdha*, although the cerebral *dh*, as is usual everywhere, is pronounced as *r*, thus making *Telâra*. The figure is a very curious one. It represents a very strongly-built, two-armed man standing to the front and holding a very thick club or bar with both hands horizontally across his body. This is, as I believe, the "King of the Iron Mace," whose name is given in the inscription as Loha Engga, which I take to be a contraction of *Lohângadâ*, or "iron club." There was a "King of the Iron Wheel," but I only once before met with any mention of a "King of the Iron Mace" in the name of the *Lohângi*, or *Lohângadâ* rock at Bhilsa.

There is a second inscription on the lintel of the Telâra Masjid which also gives the name of the place. The right-half of this record is very much injured and cannot be read with any certainty; but the left-half, containing the name of Sri *Telâdhaka*, is quite distinct. I read the whole as follows[2] :—

Sri Telâdhakah Jâru Bhattâraka
Yasupatch * ru

The stone on which these two lines are cut was originally the door-jamb of some Hindu building, but it is now placed horizontally as the lintel of the entrance door to the court-yard of the masjid.

The masjid itself stands on a mound one quarter of a mile to the north-east of the Buddhist ruins at Bulandi. The mound is 250 feet long from east to west by 100 feet broad. On the east there is a Dargâh, or shrine of a holy man, Sayid Yusaf Ikhâl, surrounded by a brick wall, while the masjid occupies the western side. Between them are many wrought blocks of blue basalt ranged in lines, like the basement of a building, but all of them are placed upside down. The

[1] See Plate XLII, fig. 1.

[2] See Plate XLII, fig. 2. This is the very inscription in which Mr. Broadley says that "the word Samvat is decipherable." Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLI, p. 251.

masjid is 51 feet 3 inches and 29 feet broad; but it was originally much longer, for the southern end wall having fallen down, the new wall was built several feet further to the north. The floor of the masjid is raised 17 feet 6 inches above the fields; and the court-yard of the Dargâh is very little lower. In the enclosure of the Dargâh there is an inscription of the time of Sher Shâh, dated in A.H. 951. The bricks of the surrounding wall of the Dargâh are $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$. They must therefore belong to a period very much earlier than the Muhammadan conquest. Between the masjid and the Dargâh Mr. Broadley exhumed what he describes as a splendid figure of Buddha. Here also he obtained "an alto-relievo in black basalt 2 feet 4 inches high, containing figures of Durgâ and Siva." I am inclined therefore to look upon the masjid mound as a Brahmanical site, although it may have been occupied previously by the Buddhists. I found nothing about either the masjid or the Dargâh to indicate what may have been the nature of the buildings, or by whom they were occupied. But I am inclined to look upon the mound as a Brahmanical site.

XXXII.—CHANDI-MAU.

The pretty village of Chandi-mau is situated near the west bank of the Panchâna river, 2 miles to the north of the Indra-saila peak near Giryek, and just 7 miles to the south-east of Nâlanda (or Baragaon). Mr. Broadley makes the last distance exactly 4 miles, which, like many another of his distances, seems to have been a very bad guess. Here he recovered "a very fine statue, 5 feet 3 inches high, seated on a throne; and the pieces of an enormous Buddha as large as the Telya bhândâr at Nâlanda, or the Sri Balam Buddha at Tetrâwa."[1] I examined all the broken figures about the village, but all the finer statues had been removed—I mean *recovered*—by Mr. Broadley. I found, however, one long inscription in three lines of small letters, which I have not yet succeeded in deciphering. It opens with the Buddhist creed, mentions the name of *Srimad-Râjagriha,* and after recording the gift of the statue by a Parama Upâsika, or chief lay brother, gives the name of the great sovereign, the King of kings, *Râma Pâla Deva.* The record ends with the date of "*Samvat 12 Ashâdha dine 30.*"

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLI, 260.

XXXIII.—PÁWÁ, or APÁPÁPURI.

Of all the holy places of the Jains in Northern India, the most esteemed is Pâwâ, where Mahâvira, the last of the twenty-four Jain patriarchs, was buried. The full name is *Apâpâpuri*, the "sinless or pure town." The name of this last Tirthankar of the Jains has been found in the Buddhist writings by Dr. Bühler, as one of the opponents of Buddha. In Pâli he is called *Nigantha Nâta-putto*, and in the Sanskrit books of the Nepalese Buddhists, *Nirgrantha Jnâti-puttra*. Hemachandra also calls him *Jnati-puttra*. It was already known from the Jain books that Gautama was a contemporary of Mahâvira, and now we learn from the Buddhist books that Mahâvira was one of the opponents of Buddha. In one passage found by Dr. Buhler it is said that the heretic was vanquished by Upâli, and went to Apâpûri to die. At Pâwâ, however, it is said by some that he died on mount Vipula (one of the Râjagriha hills), and that his body was brought to Apâpâpuri to be buried or burned.

The village is situated a short distance to the north of the great lake, in the midst of which stands the holy temple of *Jal-Mandar*. The lake is a little more than one-quarter of a mile on each side. There is a bridge on the north side leading to the temple, in the middle of an island 104 feet square. The temple is of dazzling whiteness outside, and dismal darkness inside, which is only reached through a low door which forces the visitor to stoop. To the north of the lake there is an old temple called *Thal-Mandar*, which, according to the High Priest, is built on the spot where Mahâvira died, the *Jal-Mandar* being the place of his cremation. The lake did not then exist; but such countless crowds of people came to attend the ceremony of burning the body, that the mere act of each taking up a pinch of dust to make the usual *tika*—mark on the forehead—is believed to have created a great hollow all round the spot which is now filled with water!

Between Thal-Mandar and the lake there is a curious circular mound which rises by four successive broad steps, or stages, up to a platform 32 feet in diameter On this there is a small round terrace 8 feet in diameter, surmounted by a miniature temple only 3 feet 4 inches in diameter, containing the footprints of Mahâvira. The whole work is called *Samosaran*, and is said to be the place where Mahâvira sat to teach his disciples, who were arranged in concentric circles

around him. The outermost diameter is 111 feet, the three lower stages being respectively 17 feet 5 inches, 12 feet 5 inches, and 9 feet 9 inches in width. I examined this curious work with much interest, as I had seen a similar one at Srâvasti, which puzzled me very much. But the purpose of the work was now explained in a very simple way, and the curious name of *Samosaran* must be only a corruption of *Srâvanasâla*, that is, the "auditorium, or audience hall." There are five events in the career of each Jaina Tirthankara that are considered especially holy, and are named *pânch-kalyân*, or the "five *lucky* (*events*)." These are—1, his conception; 2. his birth; 3, his assumption of a religious life; 4, his attainment of perfect wisdom; 5, his *nirvâna* or death. According to the Jainas of all sects their last teacher Mahâvira died in the year 527 B.C., or 470 years before the date of Vikaramâditya. At Pâwâ, where he died, the officiating priests still chaunt hymns in his praise after the lapse of two thousand four hundred years.

As usual, at all Jain places where no living thing is killed, there are numerous snakes all about the lake. The fish may eat each other, but they are not molested by man, and when they die, their bodies are carefully brought ashore and buried.

XXXIV.—GHOSRAWA.

The old village of Ghosrâwa, where Kittoe found a long insoription of some interest, is situated 7 miles to the south-south-west of Bihâr, and 8 miles to the east of Nâlanda (or Baragaon). It is not mentioned by either of the Chinese pilgrims; and I have no doubt from the style of the sculptures, and of the alphabetical characters of the inscriptions, that all the remains at Ghosrâwa are of a later date than the seventh century.

There are several mounds in the neighbourhood of the village, but only two are of any antiquarian interest. These are the small high mound crowned with the temple of Asâ Devi, and the great mound close to the village, which I believe to be the ruin of the Vajrâsan Vihâr, the erection of which is recorded in Kittoe's inscription. To the south of the village there is a ruined mud fort, with a low mound on its east side, but it contains no remains of any kind. Inside the village there is an open space called *Singh-bâhani*, where all the sculptures found in the great mound have been collected together. At a short distance to the south-west of the

mound, and to the south-east of Asâ Devi, there is a small shrine of Durgâ as Mahesasuri Devi, where a few other sculptures are collected.

At a quarter of a mile due west from the great mound there is a large tank 500 feet square, called *Sâhu Pokhar* and *Seth Pokhar*, both names meaning the "Banker's tank." There are some traces of buildings on one of its embankments; but I could not learn anything about the Banker himself.

In the little temple of Asâ Devi, as well as in its courtyard, there is a small collection of sculptures, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. Of the former I noticed four figures of Buddha and two of Mâyâ Devi, of which two were inscribed with the Buddhist creed. Of the latter I noticed one Ganeṣa, one Hara-Gauri, and a slab with the *Ashṭa-sakti*. As sculptures of these goddesses have been found in Nâlanda, Bodh-Gaya, and other Buddhist places, it seems probable that they may be of Buddhist origin.

The great mound close to the village is 350 feet long from north to south, by 200 feet broad, and 17 feet high; but as it has been excavated for bricks from time immemorial, its present height is no test of the height of the ancient building which once stood on this site. When Kittoe visited the place in 1848, he saw the people digging for bricks, and some boys informed him that an inscription had lately been found there. After making a copy of it, Kittoe states that he fixed it—

"in a niche in the outer wall of the modern temple, having first engraved in English on the margin the date of its being recovered and set up by me for preservation on account of Government."

The slab was still there when I visited Ghosrâwa in January 1862, with the following words engraved on the margin:—

"Recovered and placed here by Captain M. Kittoe on part of Government, March 30, A.D. 1848."

Shortly after Kittoe's visit, or in June 1848, a translation of the record was published by Dr. Ballantyne.[1] Lastly, in my report for 1861-62, which was reprinted in 1871, I drew attention to this inscription, and specially noted that part of the translation required revision—

"as the name of Nâlanda, which occurs twice, has in both instances been rendered as if it was merely a term for some ascetic posture, instead of the proper name of the town which contained the most famous monastery in all India."[2]

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVII, 492.
[2] Archæological Survey of India, I. 38.

In 1872 Mr. Broadley published his account of "the Buddhist Remains of Bihâr,"[1] in which he speaks of this inscription in such a way as to lead the reader to suppose that he was the discoverer of it. His words are:—

"The mound is strewn with broken Buddhistic idols, and to the east of it *was found* a fine piece of black basalt, 1 foot 9 inches long by 1 foot 3 inches broad, and covered by a very perfect inscription of 19 lines."

He then gives two translations of the record by Babu Râjendra Lâla Mitra and Professor R. G. Bhândârkar. We have now three translations of this inscription; and in both of the later ones I find the very emendation of the mention of Nâlanda which I had pointed out as necessary. For these new translations, therefore, I feel grateful; but I beg to draw special attention to the entire omission of Kittoe's name by Mr. Broadley throughout his account of Ghosrâwa. His silence is the more remarkable, as the stone bore Kittoe's name engraved on the margin below, as I have previously noted. Perhaps a still more curious fact in the history of this inscription is the removal of Kittoe's name since the transfer of the stone to the Bihar Museum.[2]

The main object of the inscription is to record the building of a vihâra with an "adamantine throne" (*Vajrâsana*) by Vira Deva, son of Indra Gupta, of Nagarahâra in Uttarâpatha (Jalâlâbâd on the Kabul river). He relates how he studied in the vihâra of Kanishka (at Peshawar), and afterwards made his way to the vihâra of Yasovarmapura. During a long stay there he was patronised by King *Devapâla*, and appointed to govern Nâlanda. He then built the vihâra for the reception of the best thing in the world, the *Vajrâsana*. The temple is described as a lofty building, which the riders in aërial cars mistake "for a peak of Kailâsa, or Mandâra, when they look at it."

A recent excavation in the north-east corner of the mound having brought to light three stone bases of square pillars, and some thick brick walls, I decided on making an attempt to trace the line of pillars, and, if possible, to ascertain the nature of the building which once stood on this spot. I soon found that the bricks had all been removed by the villagers, but several of the lines of wall were still traceable by

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLI, 268.

[2] In making this statement I have before me an impression of the inscription taken by myself on my visit to Ghosrâwa in 1862, and a second impression taken in the Bihar Museum in 1878.

depressions in the surface. One pillar base, marked D in the plan, was ying upside down in the eastern trench close to its original position, while a second marked C was in a field close by, and two others, A and B, were lying outside the trench towards the north, where they had been removed to get them out of the way of the excavation. One of these bases is represented in the accompanying plate.[1] They were all quite plain, and not quite of the same size. By continuing the excavation the sites of four other pillar-bases were uncovered, but beyond this nothing was found, the whole of the wall having been carried away long ago. A space was then cleared on each side of the row of pillars. To the east nothing was found, but to the west there was a good brick pavement, 10 feet in breadth. The bricks were all well burned and of a red colour, with a thin surface of black. The bricks of the wall were 15 by 10½ by 2¾ inches, all sound, and of a deep red colour.

In the excavation a small figure of Vajrâ Varâhi was found near the pillar marked H, besides a number of carved bricks with figures of men and animals upon them. The presence of these carved bricks shows that the temple must have been built of brick, like those of Bodh-Gayâ and Nâ landa. In the plate I have given a rough outline of what I suppose may have been the plan of this temple. I take the line of pillars with the brick pavement on the west to have formed the eastern arcade of the court surrounding the temple. From the lines of depression of the excavated walls I judge that the temple may have been about 34 feet square, with a room 16 feet square inside. The arcade I suppose to have extended all round, with rows of rooms at the back for the attendant monks. The whole building would thus have formed a square of about 120 feet each side, surrounding a temple 140 feet in height. Outside on the south there may have been a stûpa and other buildings connected with a large monastic establishment.

The date of the temple is known very nearly by the mention of King *Deva-pála*, " the lord of the land." This was pointed out by Kittoe in 1848, and referred by him to the 9th century A.D. This king is beyond all doubt the Râjâ Deva Pâla Deva, of numerous inscriptions of the Pâla dynasty of Magadha. The date of the temple is further confirmed by the discovery of a pot full of small coins inscribed *Sri Vigraha*, which I think may be assigned to *Vigraha Páfa*

[1] See Plate XLIII.

Deva, one of the successors of Deva Pâla. These coins will be described presently.

All the sculptures first discovered in the mound were removed to an open space in the middle of the village named *Singh-bâhani*, where they were set up and worshipped. Such as were discovered by Mr. Broadley were removed by him to Bihâr, where they may now be seen. One of these was a colossal four-armed statue of Vajra-pâni, 8 feet high. A second, 3 feet 3 inches high, represented the ascetic Buddha seated in abstraction under the Pipal tree, with the other four events of his life: his conception, birth, teaching, and nirvâna of small size grouped around.[1] The principal sculptures collected at Singh-bâhani are—1, an eight-armed figure of Durga, 4 feet 3 inches high, seated on a lion, and armed with bow and arrow, sword, discus, and shell. It is this figure which gives its name to the place as *Singha-vâhani-sthana*, the *vâhan*, or vehicle, of the goddess being a *Sinha*, or lion. 2.—A standing figure of Buddha with two attendants; the one to the left being the god Indra holding an umbrella, and the other to the right the four-headed god Brahma carrying a *chauri*. I have seen similar sculptures at other places. 3.—A six-armed standing statue with a small figure of Buddha seated in the head-dress. In the hands are a necklace, a lotus, and a water-vessel. The Buddhist creed is inscribed below. 4.—An ascetic Buddha seated in meditation under the Pipal tree. 5 and 6.—Prince Siddhârta on horseback with attendants; both sculptures broken.

On the pedestal of the Nirvâna sculpture, found by Mr Broadley, there is an inscription in two lines, beginning with the Buddhist creed, and ending with the words—

Bhântena Revashânti.

which I take to mean "[presented] by the *Bhâdanta* (or lay brother) *Revashânti*;" Bhante is only the contracted form of Bhâdanta. It is used several times in the Bairât rock inscription of Asoka.[2]

A second inscription on the side of the tall figure in *Singha-bâhani* records that it was the "pious gift of Dharma Ghoṣa for the benefit of his father and mother." A third inscription is too much mutilated to be read with certainty.

The silver coins found near the ruins of the Vajrâsan Vihâra of Vira Deva are all of the class known as Indo-Sassanian.

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLI, 275.
[2] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, pp. 25, 26.

Similar coins are found in Mâlwa and Gujarât, but they are never inscribed. The earliest coins of the class are of large size, and their imitation of the Sassanian money is direct and obvious. But the later coins depart more and more from the original, so that it is not easy at first sight to trace their descent. Several specimens selected by me from the Stacy collection were published by James Prinsep in 1837 to illustrate this descent, with a graceful acknowledgment that the fact had been previously pointed out by me in January 1836.[1] "It is," he says, "to Captain Cunningham, that we are indebted for the knowledge of balusters, parallelograms, and dots being all resolvable into the same fire altar and its attendants." In 1876, or just one generation later, the same fact was proved over again by Mr. Codrington, Secretary of the Bombay Asiatic Society. "He selected," says Pandit Bhagwân Lal Indraji, "a series of coins to show the gradual change of the Persian head on the abverse, and the fire altar on the reverse, of the Sassanian coins into the oblong button, and the series of dots and lines found on the Godhia coins."[2]

The coins themselves were called *dramma* and *dramya*, and each was in value equal to six *boddikas*. Now this word *boddika* I take to be the Hindi pronunciation of *pâdika*, a piece of silver of which 100 were equal to the golden *Suvarna*, and as the *suvarna* itself was worth 25 silver kârshas, the *kârsha* was equal to four *pâdikas*; or, in other words, the *pâdika* was, as its name implies, "one quarter" of the silver Kârsha. But as the Kârsha contained 44·8 grains of pure silver, the *pâdika* was exactly equal to the Greek Obolus of 11·2 grains; and therefore the *dramma*, which contained 6 *boddikas*, was the same as the Greek *drachma*, from which its name was originally derived, while the boddika was equal to the Obolus.[3] The best *drammas* of Vigraha weigh from 56 to 65 grains; but as most of them would appear to have been in circulation for two or three centuries, their average present weight is about 60 grains.

Coins of Vigraha.

No. 1.—Silver coin, weighing 61 grains, very common.

Obverse.—Rude head of king to right, with *Sri* in front of the face and *Vigraha* beneath; the whole surrounded by a circle of large beads.

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, 295, Plate XIX, figs. 7 to 14.
[2] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, XII, 325.
[3] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XIX, 454. An inscription dated S. 1273, or A.D 1216, records the loan of 2,250 *shadboddika dramma* or *drammas* of 6 *boddikas* each

Reverse.—Rude copy of the Sassanian fire altar, with its two attendants, priests, one on each side. In the middle the Sanskrit letter *m,* perhaps for *Magadha,* the country of Vigraha Pâla Deva.—See Plate XLIII, fig. 1.

No. 2.—Silver coin; unique.

Obverse.—Sri *Vi (graha)* occupying the field.

Reverse.—Extremely rude fire altar and attendants, priests. —See fig. 2.

Coins of Mahipâla Deva.

No. 3.—Gold coin, weighing 61 grains, extremely rude.

Obverse.—The goddess Durga, with four arms, seated to the front, and surrounded by a beaded circle.

Reverse.—Inscription in two lines. "*Sri Man Mahipâla.*— See fig. 3.

No. 4.—Copper coin, weighing 63 grains, very rare.

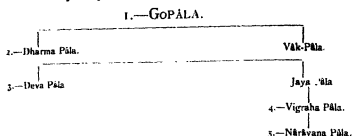
Obverse.—The same as No.3, but of rude execution.

Reverse.—Inscription in three lines, *Sri Man Mahipâla Deva.*—See fig. 4.

N. B.—I have only three specimens of this coin, and as all of them have been gilt, I look uponthem as ancient forgeries of the gold coins similar to No. 3, more especially as they are of the same weight.

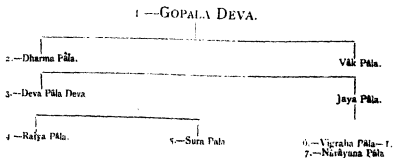
It now remains only to say a few words regarding the dates of the Pâla kings of Magadha, some remains of whom, both in coins and inscription, have been found at Ghosrâwa. We are now in possession of a large number of inscriptions of this dynasty, most of which are dated, but unfortunately all of the dates, with only two exceptions, are the regnal years of the kings. One of the exceptions is the Benares inscription of Mahipâla Deva, which is dated in Samvat 1083, A.D. 1026. The other is a Gayâ inscription of Govinda Pâla Deva, which is dated in the Samvat year 1232, or A.D. 1175, and also in the year *Vikâri* of the Vrihaspati cycle of 60 years, which, in the northern reckoning, is also A.D. 1175. Further, as 14 years of his reign are stated to have then elapsed, his accession must have taken place in A.D. 1161.

In a previous report I have given a list of all the names then known of the Pâla Râjas, with a brief notice of their inscriptions. Since then, however, several new inscriptions have been discovered, and more especially a copper-plate record of one of the early kings, Nârâyana Pâla Deva. This has been translated by Babu Rajendra Lâla Mitra, who has taken the opportunity of adding a few notes on the chronolgoy

of the Pala Rajas.[1] According to this new record the genealogy of the early Râjas is as follows :—

This succession differs from that of the Budal pillar in omitting the name of Sura Pâla, and apparently giving that of Vigraha Pâla instead. But as Babu Rajendra Lâla justly remarks—

"The object of the pillar was not to give a genealogical table of the kings of the Pâla dynasty, but to record the names of the ancestors of one Gurava, the minister of Nârâyana Pâla, naming the kings incidentally as patrons of those ancestors."

With only these two records before him, the Babu appears to have thought that Vigraha Pâla and Sura Pâla were the same person, as he omits the name of Sura Pâla in his dated list of the kings. But I am now able to show not only that Sura Pâla was a different person from Vigraha Pâla, but that most probably he preceded the latter and reigned for not less than 13 years. He was the son and successor of Deva Pâla Deva; and further, it would appear that he had an elder brother named Râjya Pâla, who had been declared Yuva Râja by his father. I think it probable that the latter may have reigned for a short time, as the third name in Târânâth's list is Raso Pâla, which no doubt represents Rajya.

The true genealogy of the early princes would appear, therefore, to have been as follows :—

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLVII, 385.

Between the last of these princes and Mahipâla there are three names in the Dinâjpur plate, of which the middle one is imperfect. From Gopâla, the founder, to Nârâyana we have four generations and six reigns; and from Nârâyana to Mahipâla there are four names, but there is nothing to show whether they represent as many generations, or simply only four reigns. The difference between these two is great and is frequently lost sight of. Thus the learned Babu Rajendra Lâla has attributed to me the adoption of an average rate of 25 years for a *reign*, in spite of his previous quotation of my very words, which assign this amount to a *generation*. His quotation is the following :—

"For this purpose General Cunningham adopts an average of 25 years to a generation, and working backwards from Mahipala, the accession of Gopala, the founder of the dynasty, will fall in the latter half of the 8th century, or still earlier, if we allow 30 years to each generation. By either reckoning, the rise of the Pâla dynasty of Magadha is fixed to the 8th century A.D., at which time great changes would appear to have taken place amongst most of the ruling families of Nothern India."

The Babu then proceeds to remark :—

"The General assigns no reason for adopting this average, and I cannot help thinking that it is too high. *It is certainly not in accord with the data available from Indian history.*"

This last paragraph I cannot allow to pass unnoticed. Some 25 years ago I examined this subject very carefully when preparing a set of genealogical tables of Indian families for my own use. The result which I arrived at was, that a period of 25 years was a very close average for a *generation*, and a shorter period of about 15 years for a *reign*. The reason for making a distinction between the two seems to me to be so obvious, that it scarcely requires to be noticed. A *reign* may be of any length, from 1 year to 60 years, but the length of a generation is restricted within much narrower limits; and where the relationship is mentioned, as it is usually in all Sanskrit inscriptions, the calculation by the number of generations is generally much more correct than that by reigns. The Babu has brought forward several examples to show that "eighteen years would be (if anything) high" for an average *reign*. Amongst other examples, he notes that in England from Edward IV to William IV, or from A.D. 1461 to 1873, 21 *reigns* yield an average of no more than 17 years 10 months and 25 days. But he omits to notice that during these 21 *reigns*, that is

from the accession of Edward IV to the death of William IV, there were only 15 *generations*, the average length of each generation being 25·06 years, or as nearly as possible the very rate which I have adopted. I therefore repeat again that for Hindu lists of kings, as generally found in inscriptions where the relationships are stated, the calculation by generations will give a nearer approximation to the true date than any calculation based on an average length of reigns. The former, however, is necessarily limited to the members of a single family; whereas the latter can be applied to any series of reigns, no matter how long. Each method is useful, and I have already employed the former most successfully in demolishing a chronology of the Balabhi kings which the late Dr. Bhau Dâji wished to establish.[1]

In the lists which I have prepared I find that 88 *generations* of Hindu kings reigned for an average of 25·01 years, and that 62 generations of Muhammadan kings reigned for an average of 25·06 years, the latter of which agrees exactly with the English average noted above. I have therefore adopted 25 years as the average period of a generation in an Indian Royal family. The extreme limits are 22 years and 29 years.

With regard to reigns, I find that 201 Hindu kings reigned for an average of 15·73 years, and that 114 Muhammadan kings had an average reign of 15·55 years. On comparing these results with those of other Eastern countries, I find that 31 Parthian kings reigned for 15·51 years each, 32 Sassanian kings for 13·28 years, while 37 Khalifs had an average reign of 16·45 years each. The mean of these is 15·09 years, which accords very nearly with the Hindu and Muhammadan averages of India. In the average lengths of *reigns*, the extremes are 9 years and 25 years, or just double the extremes found in average generations.

Both of these averages may be employed in determining the chronology of the Pâla kings of Magadha. Thus from the accession of Gopâla Deva to that of Nârâyana Pâla there were 4 generations and 6 reigns. If we multiply the former by 25 we get 100 years, and the latter by 15 we get 90 years, as the period that intervened between the two accessions. From the accession of Nârâyan Pâla to that of Mahipâla there are only four kings, but as we do not know the relationship, it is doubtful whether they should be taken as generations, or as reigns. If the former, the interval will be

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 34. The learned Doctor had crammed six *generations* into 36 years.

100 years; and if the latter, it will be only 60 years. With these limitations, the accession of *Nârâyana Pâla* must be placed either in 1025—100=925 A.D., or in 1025—60=965 A.D., and similarly the foundation of the Pâla dynasty by Gopâla Deva will be fixed either in 825 or in 865 A.D., or certainly towards the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era.

Accepting the former as the more probable date, the approximate chronology of the Pâla Râjas will be as follows:—

1.	A.D.	815	Gopâla Deva, S. 10, 12.
2.	"	830	Dharma Pâla.
3.	"	850	Deva Pâla Deva, S. 33.
4.	"	885	Râjya Pâla.
5.	"	887	Sura Pâla, S. 13.
6.	"	900	Vigraha Pâla, I.
7.	"	915	Nârâyana Pâla, S. 17.
8.	"	940	Râjâ Pâla.
9.	"	965	" "
10.	"	990	Vigraha Pâla II, S. 12.
11.	"	1015	Mahi Pâla, S. 1083=A.D. 1026, S. 10.
12.	"	1040	Naya Pâla, S. 15.
13.	"	1055	Vigraha Pâla III.
		1085	Mahendra Pâla Deva, S. 19.
		1110	Râma Pâla Deva, S. 2., S. 12.
		1135	Madana Pâla Deva, S. 19.
		1161	Govinda Pâla Deva, S. 1232=1175=15th of reign 1235=1178.
		1185	Indradyumna reigning in 1200 A.D.

According to this chronology, the Vajrâsan Vihâr at Ghosrâwa must have been built between A.D. 850 and 885, a date which agrees exactly with Kittoe's attribution of the temple inscription to the ninth century. The coins of Vigraha Pâla may perhaps be assigned to the first prince of the name, about 900 to 915 A.D., while those of Mahi Pâla must be given to the king, who reigned from A.D. 1015 to 1040. There are contemporary coins of the same class struck by the Kulachuri Prince, Gânggeya Deva of Chedi, who was reigning when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India.

For the satisfaction of Babu Rajendra Lâla Mitra, and other Sanskrit scholars, I append the text of Mahipâl's inscription, which gives the date of Samvat 1083. I have searched in vain for the original stone, both in the grounds of the Queen's College at Benares, and in the flights of steps of Jagat Sinh's tank in the city. The text is taken from a Nâgari transcript sent to me by Kittoe, and is docketed in his own handwriting. "Inscription on a figure from Sârnâth

in late Kutilakshar." The translation which I have already published was made by a student of the Benares College, who did not sign his name to it, and was kindly forwarded to me by Mr. Griffith. Had I obtained the translation direct, I should of course have given the translator's name; but as I was quite ignorant of his name, I was unable to quote it. I still possess the translator's original manuscript, as well as Kittoe's tracing of his own drawing of the broken figure.[1]

॥ नमोबुद्धाय ॥ वाराणसी सरस्यां गुरव श्री धामराशि पादाब्जम् ॥
आराध्यन मित भूपति शिरोरुहैः शैवला धीशाम् ॥
इशान चित्र घण्टा'द कीर्तिरत्नशतानि यौ ॥
गौडाधिपो महीपालः काश्यां श्रीमान कारयत् ॥
सफलीकृत पाण्डित्यौ बोधावविनि वर्त्तिनौ ॥
तौ धर्मराज कांसाङ्गं धर्मचक्रं पुनर्नवम् ॥
कृत वन्तौ चनवी नाम हमशास्थान शैलगर्भ कुटीम् ॥
एतां श्री स्थिर पालो वसन्त पालो ऽनुजः श्रीमान् ॥
संवत् १०८३ पौष दिने ११ ॥
ये धर्म्माहेतु प्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथा गतो ह्यवदत्
तेषां च यो निरोध एवं वादी महा श्रमणः ॥

XXXV.—TETRÂWA.

The village of Tetrâwa, with its five tanks and colossal statue of Buddha, is situated 10 miles to the north-east of Giryek, and 6 miles to the south-east of Bihâr. There are two great sheets of water—the Gidi Pokhar on the north, and the Balam Pokhar on the south—at a distance of nearly 2,000 feet.[2] The latter is nearly a quarter of a mile in length from east to west, and one furlong in breadth. The Gidi Pokhar is rather longer, but not quite so broad. Between the two there is a ruined fort, or castle, 100 feet square inside, with a ditch all round it. This Mr. Broadley calls a Vihâra with towers; but it is most unmistakably a small fort, and is so called by the people. It stands on a low mound of ruins

[1] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLVII, 387, where the Babu expresses his regret that the text of this inscription has not been published.

[2] Mr. Broadley calls the former tank the *Digi Pokhar*, but as both words mean a "tank," his Digi must be changed to *Gidi*. There is a large tank of the same name at Nâlanda. See Archæological Survey of India, I, Plate XVI.

about 750 feet long by 450 feet in breadth, marked C in the map; and judging by the large size of the bricks which I saw in the excavations made by the zamindars, I think it probable that the large mound is the remains of one or two Buddhist monasteries, on the top of which a small castle was built in modern times. It seems probable also that a second mound to the north-east, and due north from the village, may be the remains of another monastery. It is marked D.[1]

The village lies to the east of the castle mound, and in the middle of it there is an oblong mound of brick ruin 20 feet in height above the fields, which appears to be the remains of a platform on which two stûpas once stood. It is marked A in the map. Outside the walls there are several small rooms from 8 to 10 feet broad, which I take to have been chapels for statues of Buddha, either standing or sitting. The platform is 58 feet long by 32 feet broad.

On the south bank of the Balam Pokhar, and due south from the castle mound, there is a colossal figure of Buddha seated facing the north, that is, towards the tank. It is generally called *ri Balam*, and gives its name to the tank. The figure is 7 feet high in its sitting posture, or just double life-size. From knee to knee it is 6 feet 6 inches, which is also the width of the pedestal. The hands are 12 inches long and the feet nearly 15 inches. The Buddhist creed is engraved on the leaves of the *Padmâsan*, or "lotus throne."

As there appeared to be much solid brickwork to the west of the statue, I made an excavation which disclosed the remains of a brick stûpa 18 feet in diameter. Another excavation on the east side showed a similar stûpa. The distance between the two stûpas was also 18 feet, so that the platform was divided into three equal parts, the middle one being occupied by the colossal statue of Buddha flanked by a stûpa on each side. In the accompanying plate I have given an enlarged sketch of the site of the colossus, which is marked A in the map.

Mr. Broadley gives an enthusiastic description of the picturesque beauty of Titrâwan, and of the numerous remains of Buddhist statues which he saw there.[2] He describes five of the figures which he removed to Bihâr, and gives one inscription; but his reading is wrong in the beginning and

[1] See Plate XLIV.

[2] In reading Mr. Broadley's account, it is necessary to remember that he has by some oversight turned his map upside down. The north point is correctly marked in his sketch map, but all his descriptions give the wrong bearings.

altogether wanting at the end.[1] The record is in three lines, which I read as follows:—

Sri Tentadi-grâme Sai Vishṇu suta Ugo-
pati Chandrakena Puṇḍeswari Sai
mahâtikangasya pratipâdatta.

As these lines are engraved on the pedestal of a four-armed female figure holding a child in her lap, I am inclined to look upon the term *Puṇḍeswari* as the name of the goddess. The name of the village is beyond all doubt *Tentadi*, and not *Nentadi*, as read by Mr. Broadley. The statue appears to have been presented by Ugopati Chandraka, the son of Sai Vishnu. I found also a second inscription which appears to throw some light on this Puṇḍeswari record. It is in three short lines, which I read as follows:—

Deva-dharmmaya parama
upâsaka Tantava ṿ-
tekasya.

The only doubtful letter in this record is the last but one in the second line, which may be *d*, thus making the name *Tantada*, instead of *Tantava*. The last word, *ṿtekusya*, seems to form part of *Mahâtikanggasya* of the other inscription. In both I look upon it as proper name. Under this view the first inscription may be translated as follows:—

"Gift of Sai Mahâtikanga (of a statue) of Puṇḍeswari, by Ugopati Chandraka, son of Sai Vishnu of the village of *Tentadi*."

The second inscription is more simple:—

"Pious gift of the chief lay devotee Ṿteka of *Tantava*."

In these inscriptions I take the name of *Tentadi*-grâma and *Tantava* (or Tantada) to be the original form of the present *Tetrâwa*, or *Tentrâwa*, the intermediate forms being *Tantgraon* and *Tantrâwan*.

I take Tetrâwa to be the nameless place mentioned by Hwen Thsang as being 40 *li*, or rather more than 6 miles, to the south-east of the isolated hill, on which stood the shrine containing the famous statue of Avalokiteswara, which I have identified with the Bihâr hill. It possessed a monastery with a great stûpa at a short distance, with three terraces, where the three previous Buddhas had taken exercise. Perhaps the monastery and great stûpa stood on the fort mound, the small stûpa in the village, and the three terraces of exercise on the low mound to the north of the village.

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLI, 280.

XXXVI.—BIHÂR OR DAND-BIHÂR.

In the list of victories, which Minhâj-us-Sirâj prefixes to his account of Muhammad bin-Sâm's career, is one named *Adwand-Bihâr*.[1] This was the capital of Magadha, which was captured by *Bakhtiyâr* Khalji, one of bin-Sam's generals, about A.D. 1203. The place is still known as *Dand-Bihâr*, and it seems probable that this was only a corruption of the original name. In one of my Gaya inscriptions I find the district of Magadha designated as *Udandapura-deṣa*.[2] As this inscription is dated in the year 1429 of the Vikrama Samvat, and twice mentions the name of Piroj (Feroz) Shah of Dili, at which time we know that Bihâr was the capital of Magadha, there can be little doubt that *Udandapura* must have been the true name of the city. The name of *Adwand* should therefore be corrected to *Audand*, or *Odand*, by simply transposing the second and third letters. The place is twice mentioned by Târânâth under the name of *Otantapura*.[3] His first notice is during the reign of Gopâla, who is said to have built a temple at Nâlandara, near Otantapura. His second refers to the final conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, which he relates as follows :—

"Le roi Chandra [in Tibetan *Yla-ba*] des Touroushka du royaume *Antarabila* (read *Antarabeda*, or the Doab), se reunit avec une quantité de rois des Touroushka dans le Bengale et d'autres lieux, conquit tout le royaume de Magada, extermina les prêtres, et les célèbres monastères *Otantapura* et *Vikramachila*."

It will be useful to compare this brief notice with the account of the Muhammadan historian :—

"Muhammad Bakhtiyâr," says Minhâj-us-Sirâj, "threw himself into the postern of the gateway of the place, and they captured the fortress and acquired great booty. The greater number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and the whole of these Brahmans had their heads shaven; *and they were all slain*. There were a great number of books there, and when all these books came under the observation of the Musalmâns, they summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of those books; but *the whole of the Hindus had been killed*."[4]

Here we see that the Muhammadan author fully confirms the statement of Târanâth that all the priests were exterminated. This then was the end of the famous monastery

[1] Blochmann, in Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, XL IV, 276, and Raverty's Tabakât-i-Nasiri, p. 491.
[2] Archæological Survey of India, III, p. 128. No. 26 inscription
[3] Vassiliefs' Târânath, translated by La Comme, pp. 45 to 56.
[4] Tabakât-i-Nasiri, translated by Raverty, p. 552.

of *Udandapura*, or Vihâra, of which not a trace now remains save the name of Dand-Bihâr. This monastery was no doubt inside the fort, as the Muhammadans on its capture found that "most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmans with shaven heads," that is, they were Buddhist priests, which is further confirmed by the statement that a "great number of books was found there," and that in fact the whole fort and city was a *Madrasa*, or college, the word Bihâr in the Hindu language meaning a college.

But there were also several Buddhist buildings on the low flat-topped hill to the west, more especially on the site where the tomb of Muhammad Baya now stands. One thousand feet to the north of it there is also a square platform of brick, which must once have formed the plinth of either a temple or a stûpa. I was disappointed in not obtaining any name for the hill, as I have a suspicion that it may be the Vikrama Sila of Târânâth, on which stood the second famous monastery that was destroyed by the Tûrushkas.

Mr. Broadley has endeavoured to identify the Bihâr hill with Fa Hian's "small rocky hill standing by itself," according to Beal's translation, or "the little hill of the isolated rock," according to Laidlay's translation. He admits the correctness of my identification of the cave in the Giryek hill with Hwen Thsang's *Indra-Sila-guha*, or "Indra's hill cave," where Indra put his 42 questions to Buddha. But he objects to my identification of it with Fa Hian's "small rocky hill standing by itself," although the pilgrim distinctly states that in a stone cell in this very hill Indra put his 42 questions to Buddha. This clinching proof that the two hills were the same, is set aside by Mr. Broadley as "insufficient," and he then adds triumphantly that "the one is called in Chinese *Siao-ku-shi-shan*, and the other *In-to-lo Shi-lo-kin-ho-shan*, which certainly seem to be far from one and the same thing."[1] I fully admit the difference in the names, but unless Fa Hian has made some gross blunder in jumbling two different places together, his four syllables ought to have comprised the name of Indra. Written in English characters his *Shi* seems as if it was intended for Indra. But the character used by him is a very simple one, whereas the *Shi* character for Indra is an exceedingly complex one. *Shan* also is a mountain, and *ku* might be supposed to be a mistake for *kho*, a "cavern." But *Siao*, which means "small," cannot be got

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLI, 265.

rid of. I have therefore come to the conclusion that Fa Hian has jumbled two places together in his description—one being the cavern where Indra put his 42 questions to Buddha, and the other "the little isolated hill," which I will refer to again.

A second argument brought forward by Mr. Broadley is based on a most curious mistake in the distance between Patna and Bihâr. According to him "*the actual* distance is *about* 54 miles." Now I have taken great pains to ascertain the exact distance between these places. There are two routes now open—*1st* by Phatuha; *2nd* by Bakhtiyârpur. On the road from Phatuha to Bihâr there are mile-stones standing. The 25th mile-stone is to the north of Soh, which is 2 miles from Bihâr, and if we add 8 miles to the middle of Patna city from Phatuha, we get 35 miles as the real distance between the two places. By the other route *viâ* Bakhtiyârput which goes a long way round to take advantage of the railway, the distance is 49 miles to Bakhtiyârpur, as recorded in the Post Office. But deducting 7 miles from Bânkipur to the middle of Patna City, the actual distance by this circuitous route is only 42 miles.

Now, Fa Hian makes the distance between Pâtaliputra and Indra's cave of the forty-two questions 9 *yojanas*, or about 63 miles, which is some 18 miles, or 3 *yojanas*, in excess of the true distance *viâ* Bihâr. As we do not know by what route he travelled, I will make no attempt to correct his distance.

In the detailed and much more accurate account of Hwen Thsang there is mention of "an isolated hill" which accords very well with the position of the Bihâr hill. On leaving *Indra-sila-guha* (Giryek), he travelled from 150 to 160 *li* to the north-east to the *Kapotika Sanghârâme*, or "Pigeon Monastery," to the south of which, at 2 or 3 *li* (½ mile), there was an "isolated hill" covered with viharâs and temples. As the distance here noted of 25 to 27 miles would have taken him to the bank of the Ganges, where there is no hill even in sight, some curtailment must be made, and accordingly I have already proposed to read from 50 to 60 *li* (or 8 to 10 miles), instead of 150 to 160. As this distance would have brought the pilgrim to Bihâr, it is possible that Mr. Broadley may be right in identifying the Pigeon Monastery with the Buddhist ruins at *Soh-dih*, or *Soh-sarai*, to the north of Bihâr.

This identification is strongly supported by the position of the Bihâr hill about 1 mile to the south, which thus

answers the description of his "isolated hill," at 2 or 3 *li* to the south of the Pigeon Monastery.

The legend which gave rise to the name of this monastery is similar to that of the Goose Monastery, on the Indra Saila mountain. Here a fowler, having been out all day without catching even a single bird in his nets, went before Buddha, and said—

"O Tathâgata you have taught your doctrines here, and have been the cause of my not catching anything in my nets. My wife and children are dying of hunger. What can be done to relieve them?" "Go and light your fire," answered Buddha, "and I promise to give you something to eat." Then the Tathâgata, taking the form of a large pigeon, dropped into the fire and died. When the family had partaken of their food, the fowler again presented himself before Buddha, who converted him."

Hence the monastery which Asoka built on this spot was called the "Pigeon Monastery" As a single pigeon, even though it be "*une grande colombe,*" would scarcely be sufficient for a man and his wife and family, perhaps the name of *Soh* may refer to the name of the "bustard" as the *Son-chiriyâ*. or "golden bird."

To the south of the Pigeon Monastery, at 2 or 3 *li*, there was an isolated hill—

"covered with numbers of vihâras and holy temples, on which sculpture had displayed all its wonders."[1]

The side of the hill was cut into terraces, and beautiful flowers adorned its summit. In the very middle of its level top[2] there was a vihâra enshrining a statue of Avalokiteswara. Although the figure was small in size, its look of divine majesty inspired respect. The left hand held a lotus, and over the head there was a figure of Buddha. [This is the usual representation of the Bodhisatwa.] The statue was held in such great respect that people flocked from all parts to make known their vows and present their offerings. As a pious Buddhist. Hwen Thsang duly paid his devotions at the shrine of the great Avalokiteswara. Taking with him garlands of all sorts of flowers, he adored the Bodhisatwa in sincerity of spirit and sang his praises. Then turning towards the statue he made a profound salute and addressed to it these three wishes :—

"1.—Having studied in India I now wish to return to my native country and to live in peace, far from all danger. As

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 62, and I, 172.
[2] Julien's I. 172—"*le centre du plateau.*" and III, 62—"*juste au centre.*"

a presage of success, I ask that the flowers may fix themselves on your holy hands!

"2.—As a consequence of the virtue which I practise, and of the intelligence which I seek, I desire to be reborn in the Tushita heavens, and to worship the Bodhisatwa Maitreya. If this wish is to be fulfilled, may these flowers fix themselves on your holy arms!

"3.—Our holy religion tells us that amongst the numbers of men in the world there are many who are not endowed with the attributes of a Buddha. I, Hwen Thsang, have regarding myself, and I know not whether I am or am not of this number. If I possess the qualities of a Buddha, and if by practice of virtue I can in my turn become a Buddha, may these garlands of flowers place themselves round your holy neck!"

In saying these words he threw the flowers forward, when they all fixed themselves according to his wishes!

Having thus obtained all that he wished, he gave himself up to a transport of joy. Then all the people around, who had come to worship the statue, as well as the ministers of the vihâra, clapped their hands and stamped with their feet in token of admiration! "When you become a Buddha," said the bystanders, "we hope that you will remember the incidents of this day and assist us in obtaining Nirvana;"[1] and so this sincere and simple-minded pilgrim Hwen Thsang returned to China in the full and certain belief that he would hereafter become a Buddha! The juggle of the flowers taking up their wished-for positions was well managed by the priests, and the fame of the Bodhisatwa of the Pigeon Vihâra was no doubt much enhanced by the miracle.

But a previous miracle is also related by the pilgrim, which I will now quote, as it helps to identify the isolated hill on which the temple stood, with the Bihâr hill of the present day. "Formerly," says the pilgrim, "a king of Ceylon, after bathing in the sea, looked at a mirror, but instead of his own person, he saw the reflection of this same Bodhisatwa on the top of *a little hill* which rose amongst a forest of palm trees in the kingdom of Magadha. Moved with joy he determined to seek the statue, which he found on reaching this hill. He then built a vihâra, and other kings, following his example, built another vihâra and a holy temple, where sweet flowers and harmonious music were offered in daily homage."[2]

These accounts seem to offer very good grounds for identifying the Bihâr hill with the isolated hill rising amongst

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang I, 172, 174.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 62, 63.

palm trees, with a level plateau on the top covered with temples. The Bihâr hill has a long flat top, with numerous ledges or terraces of rock on the south side. It is literally embosomed amongst palm trees, and is covered with Buddhist remains. With all these points in its favour, it is passing strange how Mr. Broadley, after having identified the Buddhist remains at Soh with the Pigeon Monastery, should have entirely overlooked the claims of the Bihâr hill to be identified with the "isolated hill," only 2 or 3 *li* to the south of it. But such is the fact, as he states that—

"after leaving Bihâr, Hwen Thsang proceeded to another monastery 40 *li*, or 10 miles, to the south-east. The vihâra in question is described as standing *on an isolated hill*, and can be most satisfactorily identified with Parabati."[1]

Here I think that Mr. Broadley has been misled by imperfect notes which he hurriedly took from my copy of Hwen Thsang's Travels. At the place described as 40 li to the south-east of the temple of Avalokiteswara, near the Pigeon Monastery, there is no mention of any hill whatever. On the contrary, the pilgrim's words are—

"To the south-east of the statue of Avalokiteswara, which stands on the isolated hill, he made about 40 *li*, and reached a monastery containing about 50 monks."

In front of the monastery there was a great stûpa, and close by a second stûpa, with three or four places where the former Buddhas used to take exercise. This is all that the pilgrim says, and if Bihâr was the Pigeon Monastery, then the place indicated is Tetrawa, which is just 6 miles, or 36 *li*, to the south-east of Bihâr.

I will now return to Fa Hian's account of his "isolated hill," as I think that I can unravel the difficulties which are presented in his brief account. I believe that he has simply jumbled up two different places, owing to his imperfect notes, just as Mr. Broadley has done from a similar cause. If we leave out the mention of Indra and his forty-two questions, then the remainder of his account, with the exception of the distance from Pataliputra, will correspond very satisfactorily with the Bihâr hill. The following is Mr. Beal's translation :—

"From this city (Pâtaliputra), proceeding in a south-easterly direction, we arrive at a small rocky hill standing by itself, on the top of

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XLI, 277 ; see also p. 276.

which is a stone cell facing the south. [Here follows the notice of Indra and his forty-two questions.] Going south-west from this one *vojana*, we arrive at the village of Nalo (Nâlanda)."[1]

For 9 *yojanas* I propose to read 5 *yojanas*, or 35 miles, which is the exact distance of Bihâr from the middle of Patna City. I propose this correction because I believe that the Chinese *Siao-ku-shi-shan*,[2] or "little isolated rocky hill," is a very exact description of the hill of Bihâr. There is nothing here about peaks, and I would compare the term *Siao*, or "little," which Fa Hian gives to the hill, with Hwen Thsang's description of the hill seen in a mirror by the King of Ceylon as "*une petite montagne.*"

By these identifications we see that Dand Bihar was a flourishing Buddhist city in the fifth and seventh centuries, when it was visited by the two Chinese pilgrims. It is unfortunate that neither of them mentions its name, but the evidence in favour of its being called *Udandapura* is so strong that it commands my conviction. About A.D. 815 King Gopala is said to have built a temple at Nalandara, near *Otantapura*. This is the earliest mention of the place *by name* that I am aware of, while Fa Hian's brief description, about A.D. 400, is the earliest notice of it without mention of name. Amongst the extracts given by Hardy[3] from the Ceylonese books, I find the following legend :—

"In the village of Wadhamana, near Danta, there was an *Upâsaka* who was a husbandman. One of his oxen having strayed, he ascended a rock that he might look for it, but whilst there he was seized by a serpent. He had a goad in his hand, and his first impulse was to kill the snake, but he reflected that if he did so he should break the precept that forbids the taking of life. He therefore resigned himself to death, and threw the goad away; no sooner had he done this, than the snake released him from its grasp, and he escaped. Thus, by observing the precept his life was preserved from the most imminent danger."

The mention of *Danta* and the rock close by seems to refer to Udantapura and its hill, but I can find no trace of *Wadhamâna*. The Sanskrit form of this name would be *Vardhamâna*, or Bardhwan. But the present Bardwan is a large and an ancient city, while *Wadhamâna* is described as a village. Barhamona, or Baddhaona, the only place that agrees in name, is 9 miles to the north-west.

[1] Beal's Fa Hian C. mmVIII, p. 110.
[2] I adopt Julien's spelling of this name, Hwen Thsang, III, 546.
[3] Manual of Buddhism, p. 463.

In his account of "the Buddist remains of Bihar," Mr. Broadley mentions his removal of the old Gupta pillar. His words are :—

"I have removed the pillar from the place in which it lay, half buried in the ground, and set it up on a brick pedestal opposite to the Bihâr Court-house,"

and he adds that "it is curious on account of its undoubted great antiquity, and as evidence of the Gupta rule in Bihâr." But Mr. Broadley has omitted to mention two facts, which, I believe, may be ascribed partly to his ignorance and partly to his modesty. To the first I should attribute his having fixed the pillar on its brick pedestal *upside down*, in spite of the two Gupta inscriptions, with their *mâtras*, or head lines, quite distinct. To the second I would ascribe his neglecting to mention that in his anxiety to leave evidence of his own rule in Bihâr, he had the whole of the uninscribed surface of the pillar covered with rudely-cut inscriptions, in which his own name figures twice. The shortest of these "evidences of Mr Broadley's rule in Bihâr" is surmounted with the square and compasses, in which the square is an acute angle. Below, in rude capitals, divided into ten short lines, may be read the following inscription :—

"This | stone | was removed from the | for 4 | and er | ected here | April XX | M D C C C XXI | by | A. M. Broadley, Magistrate of Bihâr"

The other inscriptions are injured by the peeling away of the stone, but I have been able to make out the following :—

Earl Mayo, Viceroy of India.
G. Campbell, Governor of Bengal.

PATNA.

Jenkins.
Cockburn,
Magistrate.

J. Lambert, District Superintendent.
G. Charles, Joint Superintendent.
R. Abercrombie, Joint Superintendent
H. Gordon, Barh.
Colonel Emerson, Dinapore.
Mr. A. M. Broadley, Bengal.
F. Jackson, M. D. O.

BEHAR.

Abdul Aziz.

[Here follow eight more names ot Native "Municipal Members."]

In another place I find the name of Sheu Pesan Singh, Behar Police Inspector, followed by that of G. C. Gupta, Government Inspector.

How fortunate it is that Mr. Broadley did not remain long enough to leave more "evidences of his rule" in other parts of India.

INDEX.

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W

A. Cunningham, del

Cunningham, del.

From Photograph by D. Beglar

GATEWAY OF JAMI MASJID.

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del.

From Photograph by J. D. Beglar.

TERRA COTTAS

18" × 12"

12"

25" × 27"

A. Cunningham del.

STONE CARVINGS
1
2
3
4. Terracotta.
5. Death of Buddha
6. Goldsmith's Mould

A. Cunningham, del.

Xi-17

CARVED BRICKS.

1

3 4

2

A Cunningham, del. Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

CLAY SEALS.
1
2
3
4
13
12
6
10
11
Sandstone Fragment
7
9
8

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del.

FRONT VIEW OF TEMPLE.

From Photograph by J. D. Beglar

TERRA-COTTA FRIEZE.

Photograph by J. Craddock

1

FROM

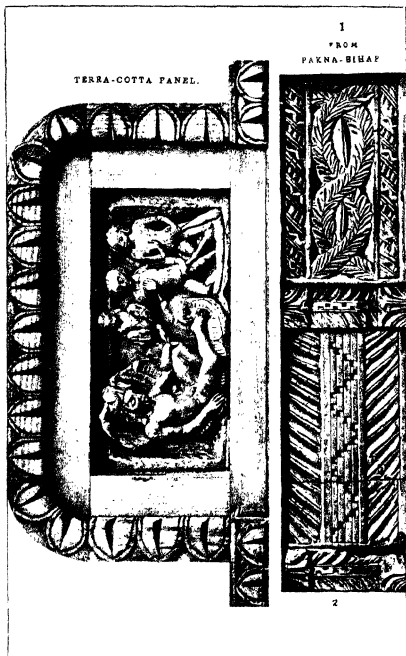
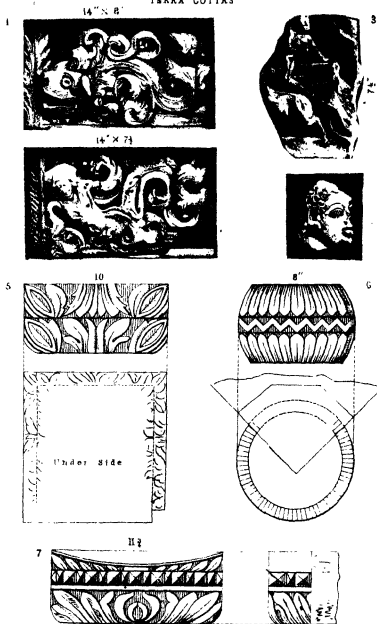
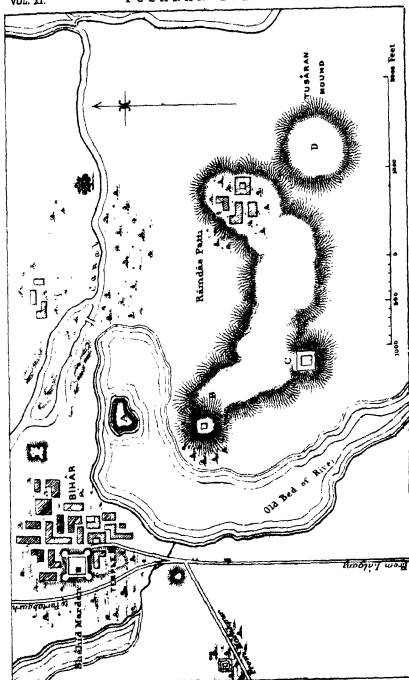
PAKNA-BIHAR

TERRA-COTTA PANEL.

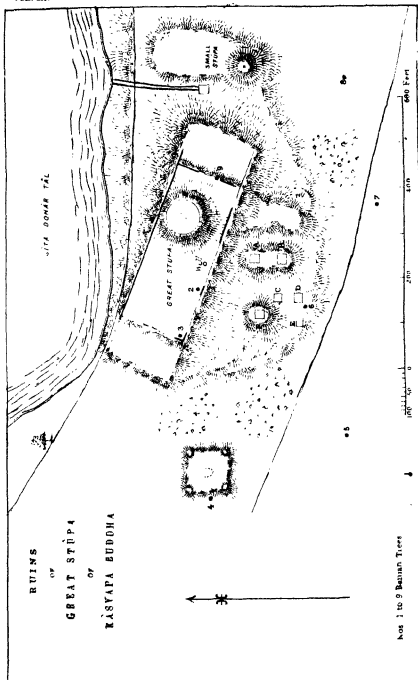
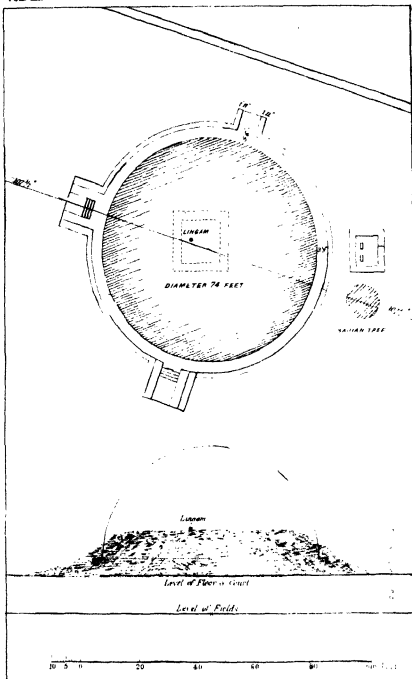
2

Photograph by J. Craddock

TERRA COTTAS
1
14" × 8"
14" × 7½
3
7½"
5
10
8"
6
Under Side
7
11¾

A. Cunningham del

Girdle of tall man

Earring
of short man

Girdle of short woman.

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xi-I9

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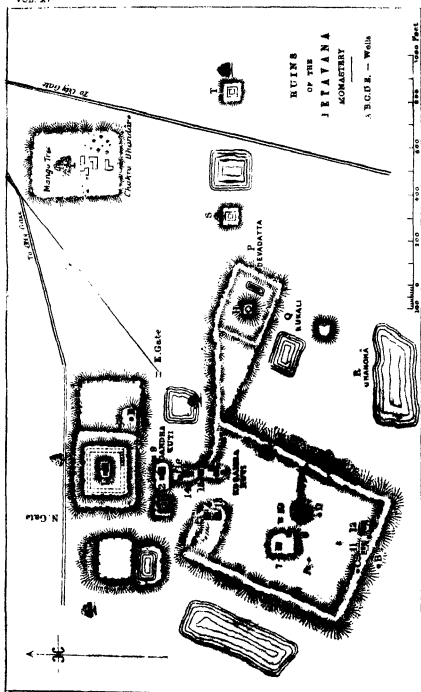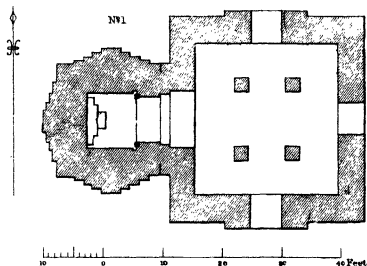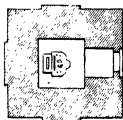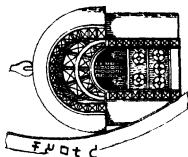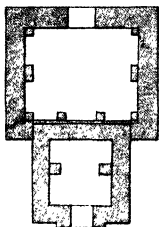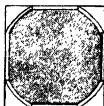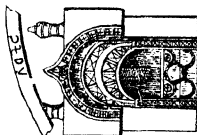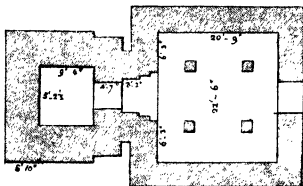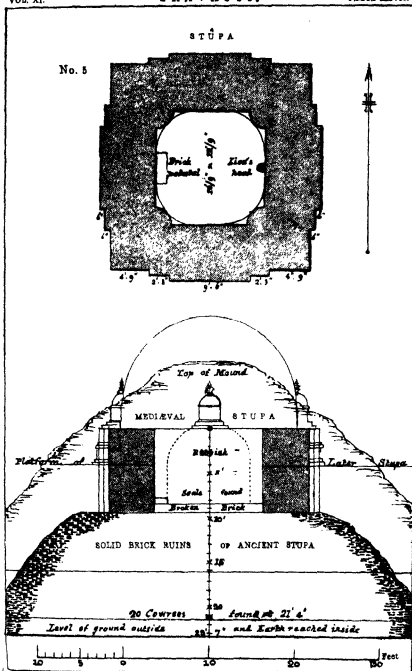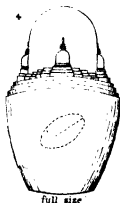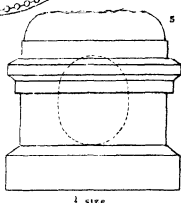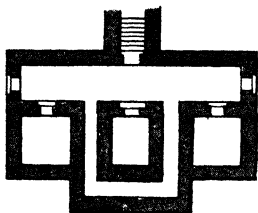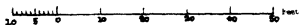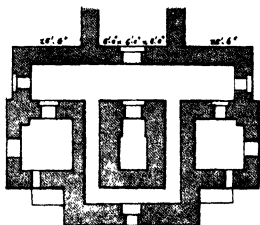
Black - stone Pedestal

WELL

Carved Brick

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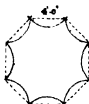
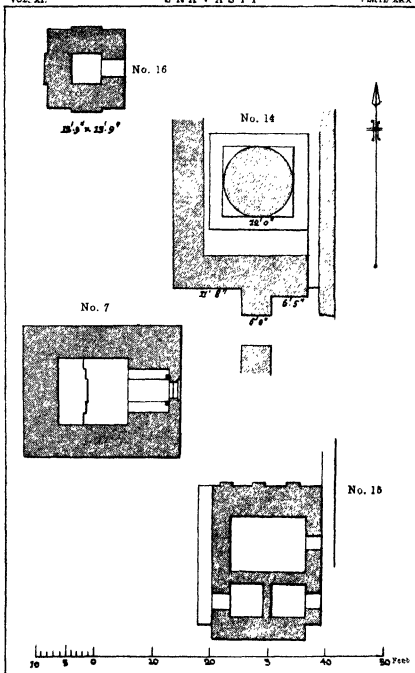
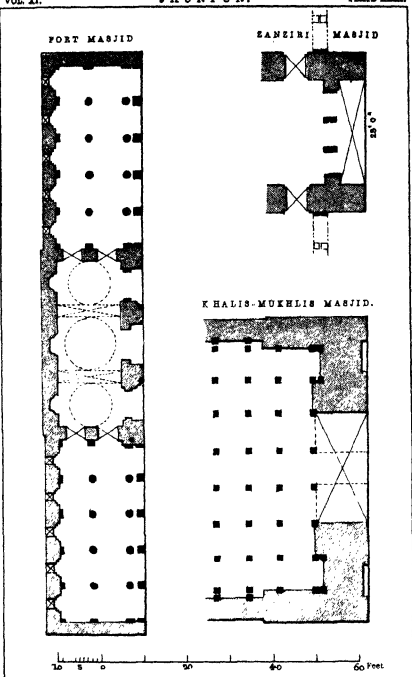
A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta

A. Cunningham, del. Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

ATALA MASJID before Restoration.

From Photograph by D. Tresham

ATÂLA MASJID as restored.

From Photograph by J. D. Beglar.

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1. SMALL BUDDHIST FIGURE.

2. LINTEL OF MASJID

FIGURES OF PADMAPÂNI.

3 4

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A. Cunningham, del. Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

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